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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Christian Herald.

SLAVERY IN TENNESSEE.

"Will Slavery ever be abolished in this State?" said I, one day, to a poor minister, who owned no slaves. "Yes," said he. "What will abolish it?" "CONSCIENCE." "How so?" "Why *every man's conscience condemns it, and a universal conscience cannot always be resisted.*" This poor minister had never seen an Anti-Slavery paper. His Bible was nearly his whole library. His Bible, his conscience, and his God were his teachers. And had they not taught him great truths? "Every man's conscience condemns Slavery." "Conscience must abolish it." This is the true *faith* on this subject, and it *exists* at the South. Now, "add to [*this*] faith, virtue, (*courageous virtue*, as the original means,) and to virtue, *knowledge*," and then see how "godliness, brotherly kindness," and "charity" will follow on, and sweep Slavery, like Paganism, and idolatory, all away, so that we can hardly tell what has become of it.

"I think that if I were the slave," said I, "and had to work out, all the year, and my master should get the pay, *my* "conscience" would say that was not right." "Mine," replied he, "would say it was not right for me to earn everything *at home*, and then for my master to eat the meat, and throw me the bones!" One of these things is the general lot of the slave; either to work out and be whipped, or scolded, just as suits the employer; or to work at home, (still to be whipped, perhaps,) and "*pick the bones.*" Some Christian (?) men say, that it is the best way of "making money," to "raise" negroes and hire them out. Even some natives of New England go South and follow this business. A negro *woman* will bring, at Nashville, from $50 to $100 per year. Seventy-five dollars is perhaps the average, besides clothing, medicine, and the risk of sickness. Negro *men* bring twice as much. The family with which I boarded, had a BOY, perhaps sixteen years old, and at the end of the year, 1840, his master received $100, and the boy two "bits"—*two dimes!* "Christmas week" is the time for hiring, selling, &c. Those who are not hired out by private trade, are put up at auction, and struck off to the highest bidder. Thus "Christmas week" is an eventful time for the poor negroes, as it determines who shall be their masters for the next year.

The usual bed for a negro that is hired out, is a coarse blanket, in which the man or woman, at the end of each day's unpaid toil, has the privilege of wrapping himself, or *herself* up, and lying upon the *floor!* In some States, the lodging is still harder. A gentleman, now a clergyman in Maine, who spent a winter in Charleston, S. C. as a merchant's clerk, says, that in the tavern where he boarded, he used to see from six to eight negroes sleeping at night *without even a blanket, on the bar-room floor!* and that floor made of *flag-stone!* for the sake of being *cool* in the long summer. It must certainly be a very *cool bed* in *winter*, as well a "mighty" *hard one*, to use a Tennessee adverb.

I mentioned in my last some colored preachers who could not read. I knew another, whose name was "George," who could read quite well. He was gifted and fervent in prayer, a good singer, a good exhorter, and probably a good preacher, though I never heard him preach. Ascertaining that he had bought his freedom, and that of his wife, I urged him to go to Africa, as a missionary; told him how difficult it is to get suitable white missionaries; and that God often seems to strike them down as soon as they arrive there, as if to tell us, in solemn tones, that we must permit colored men to go, and bind up the bleeding wounds of that continent. The freed men of the West Indies are, in good earnest, entering into the missionary work. What hindered my Southern brother? Said he, "I have been waiting to go these three years, but I cannot, while I have six children in slavery in this country." "Where are your children?" "They belong to my old master, in ——— county, Ky. He is a good master, but if I die, and leave them in slavery, I don't know what will become of them. I am now almost fifty years old, and I am afraid I shall not live to get them free. I work at this hotel, (kept by a deacon, and President of a State Foreign Missionary Society,) because I can earn more here than anywhere else, and buy my children sooner. But I am unhappy! I have to work Sundays, (cooking, &c.) and can attend meeting but little. I feel that this is WRONG! *I feel called to preach the gospel.* And yet I feel it my DUTY *to ransom my children*, and I fear I shall die before it is done! What to do I don't know!" I think he said that it was a rich *professor of religion* who holds this brother's six children, as a part of his *property*, and thus prevents his obeying his conscience, keeping the Sabbath, preaching the gospel, becoming a missionary, and serving his Master in Heaven! Can human "legislation *sanctify*" this holding of "men as property?" Brother, sister, do you, like Carey, the great missionary, "always pray for the slave, and the heathen."

"How did you like Slavery?" asked the great Dr. Beecher, when I went to Lane Seminary, directly from the South. My reply was: "I hated it worse, and worse, and worse, the longer I staid in the midst of it." "Well, so I should," said the Doctor—though I don't know what I should come to, at that rate, for I hate it now as bad as I can." A lady from Massachusetts spent several months at N. and was very discontented, though visiting and residing in the best families. Said she boldly at the table, "It's *Slavery* that makes me home-sick! When I came out here, I was not a bit of an Abolitionist. But, what I have seen has made me one, and I can't help it." "Shut to the door there! I don't want my niggers to hear such talk!" exclaimed the lady of the house.

BANGOR, Jan. 2, 1845. E. C.

From the Free Labor Advocate.

HORRIBLE.

The following narrative was related to a Friend, during a recent visit to Orange county, in this State:

Some time since, a stranger came into that county, so white that he was not suspected of having any African blood in his veins. After residing there some time, he married a white woman, went to housekeeping, and was quietly enjoying the comforts of domestic life, sustaining the character of an honest and upright man, when an old acquaintance of his visited the neighborhood, and recognized him as the slave of a Kentuckian. He gave the information to some of the neighbors of the white fugitive, two of whom, (one formerly a member of the Society of Friends,) waylaid the poor man, caught him, conveyed him to his former master, and remained there until the object of their cupidity was sold, that they might obtain a part of the price as the reward of their diabolical act. Is it not horrible to know that we have such monsters of depravity in Indiana, and that in a land of professed liberty and law, they should escape unwhipped of justice? It is a burning reproach to the public sentiment, to the state of moral feeling existing among us, that such villains are not frowned out of countenance, and compelled by the indignant scorn of an insulted community, to shun the light of day, and to hide their guilty heads in shame and confusion. But while slaveholders receive the highest honors in the power of the people to bestow—while the great villain who robs sixty or a hundred men, women, and children of all their earnings, and of themselves in the bargain, is idolized and elevated to the higest office in the Government, those little villains will be kept in countenance, and encouraged in their ——— I had almost said, worse than devilish deeds.

Pro-Slavery.

From the West Chester Jeffersonian.

BRITISH POLICY.

British policy says, *divide the North from the South*, by sending missaries throughout the whole length and breadth of the free States of America, to besiege every town, village, and hamlet, with all kinds of inflammatory doctrines, calculated to excite and act upon the passions of the people, to accomplish that division commenced by British Abolitionists, that is not likely to succeed at this time according to their desire. They have now introduced other subjects as auxiliary to accomplish the grand object desired. What impartial observer can suppose for one moment, that these travelling fanatical orators who are parading up and down the country, are not engaged and receive in pay a goodly portion of the *British Secret Service-Money* for their wonderful labors in the holy British cause, for favoring the British interests by bringing about a division of opinion and sentiment, that there is a wide difference of interest between the North and the South. Abolitionism has been the hobby upon which they rode, booted and spurred, until it expired under them crossing the Cayuga bridge in November, 1844. They have now mounted a new hobby, whip in hand, in opposition to the Annexation of Texas, and after organizing and duly christening themselves the *Liberty party*, to the number of sixty thousand, Abby Kelley has made the grand discovery, that if they had succeeded as a party, the first thing their leader would have been required to do, by our laws, would have been to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and that enjoined upon him to support Slavery. I would infer from the declarations of Abby, that the grand object of her mission was to correct the small errors of her fellow-laborers, and to exhort them to retrace their steps and take the broad and straight road, laid down by their masters and employers, and that is, to have any prospect of success they must unite with all the fag ends and dregs of the heterogeneous parties in the United States in one phalanx. The last campaign brought many new lights within the reach of their vision, and they have discovered that their only possible chance of serving their masters faithfully, is to unite with the dregs of all parties to put down the obnoxious locofoco democracy, that presents such terror to aristocrats and despots. At one of the great outpourings of the true grit of all parties, that was to constitute the next opposition to the locos in the coming campaign, Abby stated, and challenged contradiction, that the South always ruled the North, and that any and every measure the South required, or was to their interest, they carried, and there was no other policy in the United States, other than Southern policy. As a farmer of the Middle States, the only wish I have is, that her assertions were true. The inhabitants of the Southern States have no local interests—no manufacturers to feed on the vitals of the soil—their interests are one and the same, and having no other interest but the profits arising from the soil to protect, they are disposed to defend and protect it from any and every invasion, come from what source it may. Therefore, as they have no other interest than the protection of the soil, any measure or policy that protects the farmer in the South, protects him in the Middle, Northern, and Eastern States. The soil holder has but one interest in the United States, their interest is synonymous throughout.

I must dissent from the assertion of Abby, at least in one particular, that is, the South ruled the North; for the North has by hook and by crook succeeded in imposing a great portion of the payment of the national expenses out of the produce of their soil, and a heavy bounty besides going directly into the manufacturer's pocket; and any measure that taxes Southern soil, taxes the Middle and the Northern soil.

If Abby and her disinterested co-workers, if disinterested they be, will take the trouble to examine facts, they may discover that the policy of the South is the policy of the Middle and the North, so far as regards the soil or the farming interest. They are the only true friends the Middle and the Northern farmers have to defend them in their rights and interests, independent of all the zeal and fanaticism, that is exhibited to prejudice and cause dissension and division in the Union, for the express purpose of adapting our country to suit the interests and policy of our competitor and enemy, the British nation. And would it not be well for the soil holders throughout the Union to examine the course of these fanatics well, before they enter in with their enemies in opposition to their best friends, and become instruments in their hands to bring about a dissolution of the Union, and their own destruction.

I offer these few remarks for the reflection and investigation of the public, and recommend a strict scrutiny of these distinguished travelling declaimers. They say their object is for the good of the human family, being a conscientious duty; be it so. The only rule we have that is not under the influence of this conscientious duty, is to judge the tree by its fruits;—and so far as they have progressed in this conscientious work, have they bettered the condition of the human family morally and politically? We have no evidence that they have: but the reverse is the fact. There is one thing they have accomplished by emancipation upon the soil, so far as it has come within my knowledge—it has inflicted a tax upon the laboring white inhabitants of the free States, according to the statistics of the last census, of twenty millions of dollars annually, for prosecuting and maintenance, in prisons, penitentiaries, and poor-houses, for what are already emancipated.

SPECTATOR.

From the Reading Democratic Press.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

An interesting discussion took place in the Senate on Saturday, on the presentation of a petition by Mr. Darsie, of Alleghany, signed by eleven or twelve hundred citizens of that county, praying the Legislature to adopt the preliminary steps to the amendment of the State Constitution, so as to confer the right of suffrage upon *free persons of color.* This dangerous innovation upon the suffrage-system of Pennsylvania, was resisted at the threshold with becoming firmness, by Senators Champneys and Sterigere. These vigilant Senators at a glance perceived in the proposition the gem of that unhallowed fanaticism, which has so long threatened the subversion of our civil institutions, and which, to the injured South is worse than "the pestilence that walketh in darkness." The restriction of the right of suffrage to the *white* population of the State, was, after full and free discussion, introduced into our fundamental law by the Convention chosen in 1836, to submit amendments to the people. It is a fact, notorious to every man of ordinary observation, that but for the introduction of this simple word "*white*," those amendments could never have received the public sanction, and perhaps no other feature of the new Constitution contributed so essentially to its adoption by the people. Any step, therefore, which has a tendency, however remote, to the ultimate repeal of this provision, must necessarily be regarded with a jealous eye, and would not for a moment be tolerated by even a respectable minority of the people.

The Democratic Senators, ever faithful to the high purposes of the Constitution, properly nipped this new-fangled branch of abolitionism in the bud. The Whig Senators, with their characteristic cunning, spared no efforts to turn the occasion to political account, and sought to dispose of the petition by a simple reference to the Judiciary Committee, thus investing it with all the semblance of legislative favor. The petition was received, and the reference made, whereupon Mr. Champneys moved to *instruct the Committee to report against the prayer of the petitioners.* This motion, it will be perceived, at once opened the entire merits of the question, and brought Senators to the responsibility of a test vote, which not a few of the Whigs were anxious to avoid. After occupying nearly the entire morning session in the discussion of the proposition of Mr. Champneys, it was finally agreed! Yeas 17, nays 10. The following is the vote on the instructions—
(Democrats in Roman—Whigs in *Italics.*)

YEAS.—Messrs. Anderson, Champneys, Black, Ecue, Eyer, Fegely, Foulkrod, Heckman, Hill, Hoover, Horton, *Kline, Quay*, Rahn, Ross, Sherwood, Sterigere, Wilcox.—17.

NAYS.—Messrs. *Babbitt, Carson,* † *Cornman,* († Native,) *Crabb, Darragh, Darsie, Gibbons, Morrison, Sullivan.*—10.

It will be seen that not a single Democrat was found among those, who were willing to agitate this dangerous and exciting question.

Whilst they all avowed a warm sympathy for the peculiar condition of this unfortunate class, they sternly resisted an appeal which would ultimately tend, not only to invest them with the right of suffrage, but also elevate them to trusts of high honor and responsibility.

Our Democratic brethren of the South may here perceive that the interests they deem so eminently delicate and sacred, are nowhere more scrupulously respected than by the REPUBLICAN FREEMEN *of Pennsylvania.*

From the Christian Freeman.

A PLEA UNCALLED FOR.

A writer in the Anti-Slavery Standard very justly rebukes the American Anti-Slavery Society, as it calls itself, for its spirit of intolerance and want of Christian charity toward the Liberty party. This is as it should be—but in the following sentence we are confident that the writer is greatly in error. Speaking of the transfer of the Emancipator, he says: "that any considerable number (of the Liberty party) acquiesced in the doings of those who transferred the Emancipator, I very much doubt, but I venture to say that seven-eighths of them will pronounce that an act of manifest injustice, and demanding of them retraction and restitution." This is absurd. The transfer of the Emancipator was approved of, at the time, by nine-tenths of all the Abolitionists in the country, including Liberty men and anti-Liberty men—*and still is.* We have never met with an intelligent Liberty man who did not fully sanction it, as both legally and morally right—and no Liberty man will thank the Standard's correspondent for his disclaimers on our behalf. For ourself, we glory in the act as one in which was involved the integrity of the Anti-Slavery cause, which was thus happily preserved. The Garrisonians were greatly enraged that they lost the much-coveted opportunity of getting the paper into their hands to make it an organ of disunion and no-government, and have not ceased, since then, to misrepresent and libel the old Commitee, until even their own friends revolt at the gross injustice done to men whose integrity has ever been above suspicion. But this disappointed clique will probably rave on as long as they have any one to listen to them—but they will be cautious how they exhibit the facts in the case, as a knowledge of them will be fatal to that influence which they are striving to exert.

As for the Standard itself, the motto on the flag that graces its editorial head, is not more obscured and blurred, than it has degenerated in talent, in temper, and integrity, from what it was under the admirable conduct of Mrs. Child. What marvelous changes have a few years wrought! The American Anti-Slavery Society, once the terror of the Slave-Power, has made itself ridiculous by its Quixotic crusade against the Union, and its official organ has degenerated into a mere vehicle of vituperation against the great body of the American Abolitionists.

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE.

Dr. Hudson and Abby Kelley have succeeded, very unnecessarily, we think, in creating no little excitement in this quiet city, by their brutal denunciation of churches and ministers, and their violent attacks upon all who do not agree with them as to the best means of abolishing Slavery. We regret their course, because it is manifestly adapted to protract the evil which they design to cure. There is a good deal of anti-slavery feeling in Wilmington, and in other parts of Delaware, which, under proper treatment, would rapidly increase, until it became the predominant sentiment of the State. But Dr. Hudson is not the man to treat it properly. He may be a good man—but he is also a monomaniac. His hostility to churches, to the ministry, and to the Union, induces him to say harsh and unjustifiable things of the supporters of our religious and political institutions, at which they very naturally take offence. Such a course will convince no one of the evils of Slavery—it will convert no one to abolitionism; and for the sake of the cause, if not for their own sake, we could wish that these zealous friends would follow wiser counsels.

Several years ago, we lectured upon Slavery in Wilmington and other towns in Delaware, to large and attentive audiences, and no attempt was made to disturb us—yet we doubt not that our discourses were as thoroughly imbued with anti-slavery sentiments as Dr. Hudson's are. There is certainly a choice of ways for the presentation of unpalatable truth, and the wise man will aim to give as little offence as possible, consistent with faithfulness to the cause he advocates. Great severity of language may sometimes be necessary, but even then it should be accompanied with marked kindness of manner—and we are persuaded that reformers are more prone to an undue severity than they are to a misjudged leniency.—*Ib.*

From the Christian Politician.

A SOUTH CAROLINA LAW-MAKER.

I directed a copy of the Christian Politician to every member of the House of Representatives in South Carolina. Mr. P. S. Brooks returned his, with the following note written on the margin. As he appears desirous of impressing his name "indelibly" upon the "memories" of Abolitionists, I gratify the gentleman by publishing his gentlemanly and dispassionate note, with his own punctuation, as evidence that the slaveholder's kindness of temper is the guarantee of good treatment to his slaves. No wonder the slaves *love* their masters, and would not be free if they could!!

"Mr. W. H. BRISBANE, EDITOR—I suppose I am indebted for your favor to the fact of having been sent by the Executive of this State, to Charleston, for the purpose of expelling the Massachusetts emissary from the State, had I been able to lay my hand on him You and every abolitionist in America would have my name indelibly impressed upon your memories.

"I return your paper and with it my acknowledgments of your consideration in sending it. Ignorance of the condition of our slaves is the most charitable explanation of your principles and I assure you most solemnly that were you to tamper with them, they themselves, under my direction would inflict the punishment which is common to them upon you—a punishment which ignorance in an *editor* would not excuse and which your iniquity would most justly deserve.

"P. S. BROOKS,
"Edgerfield C. H. South Carolina."

THE FORCE OF EXAMPLE.—Although Calvin Fairbank, convicted of negro stealing, made a speech to the Jury, lamenting that he had been engaged in the enterprise, and that he believed it to be wrong, he was condemned to fifteen years imprisonment at hard labor, and is actually sawing stone, with a negro holding one end of the saw, and himself the other; and how has this degradation and painful punishment been brought on a minister of the Gospel? By the vile counsel of the Abolitionists, who taught him to believe that he rendered a duty to society and to religion, by carrying off the property of others. The determined course pursued by the authorities of Charleston and New Orleans, and the justice meeted to offenders in Courts of Justice, we hope will continue to give a check to the incendiary course of the Abolitionists.—*Sun.*

From the African Repository.

THE LAST TOUCH OF ABOLITION.

A *Theocratic Conference* was held on the 15th November, at Lairdsville, N. Y. "for the purpose of asserting their rights, renouncing their allegiance to all human governments, and taking the kingdom." They formerly, by an "Amen," adopted a series of resolutions, setting forth their "mind and will," and a "declaration of independence," by which they pronounce that "in the kingdom," "the Church and the State are one and the same, and that all matters usually distinguished as civil and religious, are under its control." They explain their position in relation to the governments of this world thus: "That they are absolved from all allegiance to all human governments and institutions; that all political and religious connection between them and these various dominions, *is*, and of right ought to be, *totally dissolved.*" And they claim a divine prerogative to do as they please henceforward! But they do not state how they intend to execute their resolutions, and carry into effect their independence! On what a surging, restless billow have the minds of Abolitionists been tossed! The hour they struck out on the broad sea of their mistaken philanthropy, was fraught with peril to all their principles of truth, to all their social affections, and to all their obligations to society. Better, far better, had it been for them and the world, if they had remained fast anchored in the quiet waters of philanthropy, as they float along the streams of COLONIZATION.

Selections.

From the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Mass. A. S. Society.

ORGANIZATION.

Every successive year brings with it new proofs of the wisdom of the policy adopted by the Abolitionists at the inception of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. Having a great end to accomplish, they consulted their common sense and experience, and adopted such measures as they suggested. Knowing from the universal experience of mankind, that men effect more by concert and union of action, than by their disconnected efforts, they naturally and spontaneously formed themselves into societies, by means of which, the individual influence of each member was multiplied by that of the whole combination. It never occurred to them to doubt the philosophy which taught them that union is strength and that two are more than one. But especially did they feel confirmed in the truth of their method when they found that it was made the object of virulent attack by all that was pro-slavery and vile in the land. The organization of the Anti-Slavery societies seemed to be the circumstance that excited the greatest consternation and dismay in the minds of the slaveholders and of their Northern abettors. The denunciations of the pulpit, and the press, and the brute violence of the mobs, were directed mainly against *them.* It was the suppression of the societies that the South demanded, and it was this cry that the servile North took up and reiterated and enforced. Having this irrefragable evidence in favor of the wisdom of their course they took courage and went on as they had begun. They thought they could not but be right, in doing what their enemies most dreaded that they should do. And the result proved at once their own sagacity and that of their adversaries. By means of organized action, the country was shaken from one end to the other, and the change in public sentiment, which was its object, was begun and carried forward with a rapidity for which they had scarcely hoped. Having met with such signal success in the practical application of their policy, they were but little disposed to speculate upon its abstract fitness or upon the possible advantages to be expected from some other line of conduct. It was enough for them to know that the method they had adopted had been crowned with unlooked for success, and had answered the warmest hopes of the friends, and the prophetic apprehensions of the enemies, of the cause.

In this outcry, the pro-slavery public, indeed, found an unexpected auxiliary, whom they could not cordially welcome, though they very willingly used, in the late Doctor WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. This distinguished gentleman was the first to broach the doctrine that organized action is hostile to individual freedom, and he exhorted the Abolitionists to disband their societies, with the whole weight of reasoning and eloquence of which he was master. These exhortations undoubtedly rendered his arguments against Slavery itself more endurable to its friends and supporters, and enabled them to make a wide distinction between him who made them, and the uncompromising men whom their instinct of self-preservation told them were most to be hated and feared. Though the sphere of his audience was doubtless thus in a degree enlarged, and truths which would not otherwise have reached them, fell upon many ears, it may well be doubted whether any advantage they gained could compensate for the injury done to the cause of truth, by even the appearance of succumbing to a fierce and brutal popular clamor, then in the height of its frenzy, and by the excuse thus given to cowardly and time-serving minds, for withholding their help from a hated Reform. It was unfortunate that this eminent man should have felt himself called upon to set forth his novel philosophy at a time and under circumstances which rendered his motives liable to any misconception, and produced practical ill-effects perhaps more than counterbalancing all the benefits of the eloquent appeals with which it was accompanied.

But though these new views, enforced by the genius and the weight of character of their author, had their effect in encouraging the bold enemies and disheartening the timid friends of the cause, by the weight of a celebrated name, still the practical, working Abolitionists, who had addressed themselves to the work in good earnest, were not to be persuaded to throw away the weapons or abandon the discipline which they saw struck the greatest terror into the ranks of the adversary. They accordingly went on in the spirit and in the order with which they had begun their movement, and had soon reason to perceive the wisdom of their course in the impression produced upon the mind of the nation. They *knew* that their individual liberty was not infringed by their consenting to act in concert with others for a specific purpose. They were conscious to themselves that it was more than any man, or any body of men, could do, to diminish their freedom of individual action. Combining with others for the accomplishment of a beneficent end was an individual act which they felt perfectly free to do, and one which they could not conceive to be inconsistent with the largest liberty, as long as they could at any moment withdraw from the combination without objection or reproach. They felt that so far from their individual strength being diminished by thus consenting to act with others, it was increased and multiplied by the union. They perceived that an Anti-Slavery Society was a machine of which its members were not the victims, but the masters. That the combination was not an instrument designed to crush and control the characters and minds composing it, but to be informed and directed by them. They saw that although a man of uncommon abilities, in a position from which his slightest word would command general attention, might afford to dispense with the sympathy and co-operation of others, (though they also saw how much his influence lost by the want of them,) still it was not so with the great mass of the Abolitionists, whose opinions, and whose contributions of time and money, could only become appreciable by being united with those of others who were of one mind in this matter with themselves. They saw, too, with well grounded apprehension, that the discontinuance of organized action would put the whole control of the enterprise into the hands of a few leaders, who, by their talents or position, would be enabled to monopolize the public Anti-Slavery action. They feared that the effect would be to magnify, unduly, prominent individuals, and to leave the Anti-Slavery masses without influence or voice in the movement. They foresaw that MAN-WORSHIP, with all its baneful effect on the idol and on the idolaters, would be the inevitable result of this new system. They resolved to guard, with a just and reasonable jealousy, that share of influence which God had entrusted to them for the deliverance of the slave, and to refuse to sacrifice it, under the delusive idea of increasing it. They refused to consent, for the sake of freeing themselves from the imaginary dominion of their own official servants whom they appointed and could discard at their pleasure, to deliver themselves and the cause they loved into the irresponsible hands of self-appointed leaders, however able or devoted they might be. The Anti-Slavery men and women scattered over the farm houses and work-shops of the free States, declined virtually to annihilate themselves, when they saw the power of the influence they individually wielded in the combined movement, for the purpose of practically, however undesignedly, placing the cause out of their reach, and in hands however worthy, beyond their control.

These reasons, among others, induced the great mass of Abolitionists to adhere to their original method. And its wisdom has been justified by its results. Notwithstanding the severe blow which was given to the Anti-Slavery Societies by the treachery and dishonesty of new organization, it is not too much to say that whatever has been done for the advancement of the cause, of sufficient importance to be appreciable, has been effected under their auspices. Wherever the societies have been the most efficient and active, the greatest progress has been made. Where they have been permitted to become torpid or lifeless, there has the interest in the cause either entirely died out, or been confined to a small number kept alive by the influence of some influential individual. We are happy to know that a renewed sense of the necessity of combined action is beginning to be felt in quarters where it has been but too much neglected, and that fresh efforts are making to breathe a new vitality into them. We would earnestly invite the attention of Abolitionists to this important matter, and would recommend that no pains be spared, to increase the efficiency of those powerful instrumentalities, the State, county, and town Anti-Slavery societies.

There have always been from the first expounding of his new doctrine of Organizations by Dr. Channing, to the present moment, some faithful and devoted Abolitionists who have received and acted upon it. Although we differ widely from them as to the philosophy of our common Reform, we have always recognized them as good Abolitionists, as long as they prove by their acts that their objection to organized action does not spring from a wish to avoid the odium and responsibilities of the cause, or from a desire to keep the management of it, within their sphere, in their own hands. If they do not, like the Founder of their School, disclaim the name of Abolitionists, we are ready to accord it to them, if they show their faith by their works. There has never been any *Pro-organization*, bigotry, or intolerance. The perfect right of every one to act within or without the Anti-Slavery societies, according to his conscience, has always been most freely admitted. The Anti-Slavery platform is wide enough to embrace them all. We trust that there will be always a perfect agreement to differ upon this point, as upon all others of *measures*, as distinct from *principles.* We hope never to see the *measures* adopted by any Abolitionist, in good faith, made the object of attack by any who dissent from them. Slavery is the common enemy of us all, and it would be unwise and mischievous to divert any of our energies from an attack upon our wily and desperate antagonists, to an attempt to compel a uniformity of tactics, however important our own favorite scheme may appear to us. Though they who accept the philosophy of Dr. Channing at the present time are not numerous, still there are those among them, who are distinguished by their talents and devotion to the cause, and are deservedly dear to all Anti-Slavery hearts. Though we may not assent to their arguments, nor yield to the strong pressure of their personal influence, as we have already resisted the cogent reasoning and the mighty name of their departed master, still we are as ready as ever to contend side by side with them if they will permit us, against our mutual foe. We most cordially invite their co-operation and offer our own, in all measures in which we can still conscientiously unite.

From the West Chester Jeffersonian.

ABOLITION—ABBY KELLEY.

On Monday and Tuesday of last week, a series of abolition meetings were held in this Borough, in the large dining hall of the Chester County Hotel, which were addressed by several prominent advocates of the anti-slavery movement. Among the number was the celebrated Abby Kelley. Abby's fame had preceded her to this place, and the consequence was, the people flocked in crowds to the centre of attraction. Abby is certainly a remarkable woman, and commanded on each occasion—afternoon and evening of Tuesday—the fixed attention of her auditors. She is in truth a popular speaker. She is fluent of speech, her gesticulations are graceful and appropriate, and at times she grows truly eloquent. She addresses herself, however, more to the feelings than to the judgment; and her peculiar forte appears to consist in her power to work upon the sympathies and the passions. In this she is very successful, and we pronounce her an extraordinary woman, and a rare specimen and prodigy of her sex.

Of the character and tendency of her peculiar doctrines and views, we do not design to speak at length. That Slavery is a grievous wrong—that it is a stigma upon our National escutcheon, exposing our institutions to the jibes and taunts even of monarchies, we readily admit; but how it is to be got rid of without jeopardizing the existence of the Union, or inflicting even greater evils than the institution of Slavery itself, is a problem that perplexes the most enlightened wisdom and sagacity. Our Union is too precious—too dearly purchased, to be sacrificed and torn asunder even for the purpose of doing justice to an oppressed and down-trodden race.

Abby was severe upon "political demagogues," and told several amusing anecdotes in illustration of their practices and propensities. The "Liberty party" she denounced as mean and contemptible; and repudiated the experiment of political organization and action against Slavery, as futile and impracticable.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visitor.

THE BLACK LAWS OF MARYLAND.
(Continued.)

Our series upon the cruel course of certain members of the Legislature of Maryland, has aroused the feelings of not only our own citizens, but those of other States—and that to an extent which is truly gratifying, as to showing that the Great National Heart is not utterly dead to the wrongs of the poor down-trodden free colored man! We propose to present some evidence of this. Hear what the *Press* says. We first quote the *Alexandria Gazette*, a paper whose openness and independence are greatly to be admired:

"It seems, too, that Maryland is engaged in the same impolitic course of legislation, which is unexpected, considering the intelligence of both branches of the Legislature. I understand it is proposed to pass a law in Maryland, preventing all colored persons who have left the State for thirty days, from returning again! This will operate seriously against the commerce of Baltimore, and the country, and is, in my opinion, if it becomes a law, a positive injury to the State, and unworthy of the Legislature! Various other propositions are introduced under different forms, relative to free blacks, which, if carried out, will not immortalize the wisdom of the present Legislature. These oppressive and impolitic movements against free colored persons, are out of place in this country, and in this age of the world. I am for good government, and good discipline, but not for laws which do no benefit to the State, or to any portion of the population of the country.

"A MERCHANT.

"ALEXANDRIA, Feb. 3, 1845."

But, as some may cry "intermeddling of the people of one State with the affairs of another," we give an extract from the "Temperance Herald," a *home* journal. Hear its editor:

"These provisions are so at variance with the dictates of humanity and common sense, that, without any desire of travelling out of our path, we cannot, in justice to ourselves, and the community in which we live, pass them by in silence.

* * * * * * *

"A colored man who is free, if he runs a hack and gets a job to the springs, and is absent thirty days, cannot return to his family! And again, they are compelled to pay *one* dollar per head. How are these poor ignorant creatures, without newspapers or information, to know where to pay this? And then, however remote, they are to add to this an expense, beyond the means of many of them, by travelling annually to the county seat. I really am almost afraid to say all I think on this subject—not that as a free man I am afraid to speak out, but because it is not so immediately connected with the cause of Temperance—and yet I do not hesitate to say, that such laws are at variance with every dictate of humanity and good common sense!"

Now hear the *People.* Here is the publishable portion of a letter from a professor in one of the leading colleges in Pennsylvania—a Divine, of varied learning and commanding character, while greatly distinguished as a philosophical author. We should be glad to append his name if allowable:

"———, Pa. Feb. 17th, 1845.

"*J. E. Snodgrass, Esq.*:—SIR:—From the various quotations from your paper, which have at different times met my eye, I have formed a high opinion of the integrity and independence of principle with which it is conducted. I am especially pleased with the enlightened and humane policy which you advocate, in regard to that unfortunate and depressed portion of our fellow-beings, the colored population; and I have felt it a duty, as it also affords me pleasure, to encourage its circulation. Please, therefore, to send it to me from this time until the two dollars enclosed, are exhausted. * * * *

Respectfully yours,
———— ———."

We need hardly say that *such* testimonials are highly gratifying. "But," whispers some one, "he is a resident of a free State, and, of course, an advocate of the blacks." Very well, then, Mr. Objector: we will try every possible way to suit you. Here is a letter from Kent county, *Maryland*, and from a man whose profession (that of medicine) renders him more or less dependent on the patronage of slaveholders. Read and ponder what he says:

"KENT COUNTY, Md. Feb. 11th, 1845.

"*Dr. Snodgrass*:—DEAR SIR:—I had the pleasure of reading the last number of the Saturday Visitor, which afforded me great pleasure, and another evidence that there was one editor of a paper in Maryland, who was not afraid to rebuke the Legislature or any power, when wrong. For the last fourteen years, some of the slaveholding members of the Legislature, have acted as though they were sent to Annapolis for no other purpose than to enact laws to tax and oppress the free negroes; as if they intended to drive them all from the borders of the State, regardless of justice to the free negro, and of that class of *white* persons who make it a point of conscience not to traffic in or hire slaves!

"I, for one, am not willing that this state of things should continue; and am determined for one, so far as my vote and influence, however small, is concerned, to say to the slave-interest, "thus far shalt thou go and no farther." I hope some friend of justice and mercy at Annapolis, will take measures to have the yeas and nays published, that all may have an opportunity of voting understandingly on this subject next fall.

"I was much pleased with the editorial in your paper of the 8th instant, under the caption of "More Black Laws," and made up my mind to drop you a few lines expressive of my views, and to request you to send me your paper from the first of January, last past, also to inform you of my intention to try to spread the "Visitor" more freely, by advising my neighbors to subscribe.

I am, very truly, yours,
———— ———."

Surely these outspeakings of indignation of virtuous minds, everywhere, ought to be enough to convince legislators of the impolicy as well as revolting barbarism of their course.

The slaveholding members of our Legislature who voted for the cruel "black laws" under notice, will learn, when, perhaps too late, that (leaving out of view the rights and feelings of the poor colored man) the interest which suffers most from their heartless lawmongering, is that which they are so blindly striving to build up. Therefore, enlightened self-interest, if no higher motive, should induce them to suspend their oppressive work.

From the Elevator.

BISHOP ONDERDONK AND THE COLORED PEOPLE.

MR. EDITOR:—It doubtless falls to your lot to make record of the inconsistencies, as well as the consistencies of men and their movements.

I have to treat of the former at present, as will be seen by a letter lately sent by the two Churchwardens and eight Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church, to Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, expressive of their "confidence, love, respect, and veneration" for him.

I will admit that this prelate's intimacy with St. Phillip's Church, previous to his ordination to the episcopate, was likely to secure the confidence, love, respect, and veneration, of its congregation, and isolated acts of his since would *seem* to entitle him to the same relationship, but the entire inconsistency of any such view is perfectly apparent to any unprejudiced mind, when the history of his connection with our people is known.

Besides, as Episcopalians, we are bound to receive him as a man guilty of acts, unworthy of our confidence or esteem, and if reliance is to be placed in human testimony, if we are not prepared to charge a number of well known and unimpeachable branches and pillars of the Church, of the dread guilt of perjury, then are we further bound to regard Bishop Onderdonk as having violated his consecration rooms, even if you please, as far back as seven years ago.

What evidence had the Court, or have we, of that penitence, humiliation, and contrition of heart, evincing sorrow for the past, and a determination of amendment for the future: none; but to the contrary, we find a recommittal of similar acts. Arrogance, bigotry, and oppression, are the predominant traits of his character.

He is not the man worthy of our confidence, love, respect, and veneration. When the advocacy of Anti-Slavery principles was less popular than at the present day, when that good and pious man, the late Rev. Peter Williams, was associated with an Anti-Slavery body, whose principles commended themselves. Yet that body was almost universally unpopular; men high in Church and State were leagued against it. The worst passions of hell were let loose to wage war upon it; still Mr. Williams clung to it. It was at such a time when foul spirits stalked abroad, that Benjamin T. Onderdonk, as Bishop, requested the Rev. Peter Williams to resign his connection with this band.

Mr. Williams wrote the Bishop a full and explicit reply, resigning his place as one of its officers, though not yielding his principles or membership. That letter was garbled and published, representing Mr. Williams in a false and disreputable light. Yes, to go to his grave in the estimation of those who know no better, as yielding up the dearest principles. But thanks to his memory, there are those that knew him long and better.

Who published and garbled this letter? Who suppressed the parts which made him worthily a man? Why, this same Bishop Onderdonk. Who, forsooth, is worthy of the "confidence" of the present Church wardens, and Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church!

Then the lamented DEGRASS, who was counselled to disown the father and mother that begat him, his sisters and brothers—his people. Who was turned from a room in the Seminary of his Church, when preparing to be an efficient laborer in it. Not for any lack of moral character. Not for any deficiency, but—solely because he associated with his worthy school companions, with his people, all of which in the estimation of the Church w

mell, who yet lives to see his Church purged of its present iniquities. He was the special object of th Bishop's prejudice and dishonesty, in consequence of which, he had to forsake home and its early and dear associations, friends and acquaintances, to enjoy those rights amongst strangers and strange scenes, which were denied him at home. He was most despitefully used and trampled upon as a colored man, soliciting common privileges. Yes, he was falsely represented to the world for seeking advantages for his Church and people. By whom? Why, by this same Bishop, who the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church would have you "respect."

I would here beg leave to digress, and state to the world, that the late Rev. Peter Williams agreed entirely to the views and to the course pursued by Mr. Crummell, in soliciting admission into the Theological Seminary, petitioning the Trustees for the same, after the Bishop had objected to his admission as a colored man. They differed only as to the expediency of the publication of the correspondence and tricks of the Bishop, and here only.

In this instance Mr. Williams not only differed with Mr. Crummell, but he also differed with a number of distinguished divines in the Church, personal friends of the Bishop, who believed with Mr. Crummell, that his hopes of usefulness in the ministry depended on his correcting, effectually and finally, the false impressions of the Bishop. Let the fact of Mr. Williams agreeing with Mr. Crummell's views and of his advising him in the course he pursued, be denied, and such proofs of it can be given as will make the *denier hang his head and blush to think himself a man.*

Then the case of *Mr. Reason*, the deceit and duplicity practised towards him; to use language apparently favorable to his admission in the Seminary, but when the time came for him to be admitted, to be told that the colored man must not expect the same privileges in the Seminary of his church that white men enjoy.

Who will deny but that this entitles the Bishop to the "veneration" of colored men, as expressed by the two Churchwardens and eight Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church.

And a still later case, that of *Mr. Berry*, alike exhibiting the same feelings of injustice, prejudice, and deceit towards colored men. It is strange, very strange, to me, how any man or any body of men can in view of the "rights, advancement, and happiness" of our people, have "confidence" in such a man. Talk not to me of separate apparent good acts, they are but vain, empty, deceptive bubbles, which either of the above enumerated acts destroy. There is no separation, they are so interwoven that all must fall together. Yet, by a pamphlet published by a friend of the Bishop, we learn that the Wardens and Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church did send to the said Bishop on the 14th of January, after the court of Bishops had pronounced him guilty, yet before the evidence was published or known from which they could form a correct opinion of the justness of the decision, a letter expressive of their confidence, love, respect, and veneration for him. Permit me to submit it to any one retaining any dignity or respect for himself, whether such a mean and contemptible submission to dollars and cents, to the terms of our oppressors, is worthy of the individuals composing the two Churchwardens and eight Vestrymen of St. Philip's Church.

One of the most painful connections in this matter has not been alluded to. I refer to the sacrifice upon the altar of dollars and cents of a dear friend, JOHN JAY, the thrice honored John Jay, honored in the grandfather, the father, and in himself. I say unto the man, Beware!! Beware!! who will dare compromise our interest, the interest of our people, by bringing in jeopardy the time honored name of Jay. In conclusion, permit me to add that no efforts of white men no subserviency of colored, can rescue this Bishop from deserved infamy, for so sure as the actions of men in distinguished positions flow down the stream of time and become fixed on its records as *history*, so sure will the names of the two Bishops Onderdonk, go down to all future times as deep, inveterate, determined *negro haters.*

A COLORED EPISCOPALIAN.

NEW-YORK, February 22, 1845.

From the Newtown Journal.

THE NEWTOWN JOURNAL, versus THE ABOLITIONISTS:

In reference to the means employed by the Abolitionists on behalf of the "suffering bondman," the editor thinks the slave has reason to cry aloud—"SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS!"

When the position of an opponent is once defined, much of the labor of controversy is sometimes saved; and after THIS the Abolitionists of Bucks county must be dull indeed, if they do not know where to FIND the editor of the Newtown Journal. The above estimate of their efficiency in pleading the cause of the slave, is expressed in a very few words, and no sophistry can change their meaning.

I speak here of the Abolitionists of Bucks County, because, with a very few exceptions, they have taken the ground, in all essential points, that was occupied by the late lectures of Abby Kelley. This is the position taken by the American Anti-Slavery Society;—and whatever odium or reproach is cast upon this devoted female, is thrown upon the whole Society, of which she is the approved though VOLUNTARY agent. I refer in this instance to the general principles advocated; there may be some minor peculiarities in the views of the lecturer, not necessary to be taken into consideration.

What then has been the means employed by Abolitionists to advance the great leading object of their organization?—the immediate emancipation of the Slave! It has been to proclaim in the ears of the American People, the essential sinfulness of Slavery, under all circumstances—and, of course, the necessity of its immediate abandonment—REPENTANCE for the sin; and as an evidence thereof, WORKS affording substantial and satisfactory atonement! This is the old-fashioned method used by reformers thousands of years ago; and experience has proved its efficacy. As to any particular plan of operation, the movers in this work judged that this might safely be left to those who had resolved "to wash their hands forever, of the sin, and shame, and curse." In the progress of investigating this evil, it was proved, as might have been expected, that there were many PARTICIPANTS in the crime, against whom the voice of warning, rebuke, and denunciation must be raised, in order that its enormity might be fully exposed—even though the cringing politician and time-serving minister of religion should come in for a full share of the reproof. These are the means used by the professed "exclusive" friends of the slave, wherever found, and whether united by any organization or not. And it is against those who employ such instrumentalities, that the editor of the Journal thinks the slave has reason to cry, "SAVE ME FROM MY FRIENDS!"

Is he prepared to exhibit more efficient means? As to his agency in endeavoring to elect a SLAVEHOLDER to the highest office in the gift of the American people, and one who has declared in the Senate of the United States that he was "opposed to every system of Emancipation, gradual or immediate!"—I cannot believe him serious in this exhibition of his anti-slavery labors! Such efforts are in reality more exceptionable than those of the SCOLDING and DEFAMING ABOLITIONISTS. For, even the slave, degraded and brutalized as he is by his tyrannical master, would be ashamed in selecting his friends to name a man who had given such evidence of his benevolent regard!—but fortunately for the oppressed bondman, notwithstanding the demoniac efforts used for ages to extinguish that Divine spark of intelligence inseparable from his nature—he yet has sagacity enough to distinguish his FRIENDS from his ENEMIES!—and according to the extent of his power, he has not been backward in declaring in what class of the community his hopes are centered. When asked to designate the proofs of substantial benefits, conferred by his REAL friends—he would depict his understanding of the matter in something like this significant appeal: "Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked to cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh." It is to produce a public sentiment that will insure the practice of these duties, that all the efforts of genuine Abolitionists are directed—and, for which the slave feels that devout, humble, confiding gratitude, that is more prized by his benefactors, than the highest encomiums of those who would seek to reward his oppressor, by elevating him to the highest office that can be conferred by the American People!

W. H. J.

BUCKINGHAM, 2d month, 1845.

☞ Our correspondent seems to think that the Abolitionists of Bucks county "must be dull of comprehension if, hereafter, they do not know where to find the editor of the Newtown Journal." We should be exceedingly sorry that there should be any difficulty in regard to this matter. We certainly have no wish to conceal our sentiments on any question; and more especially that of Slavery. As to the insinuation that we are to be found on the side of Slavery, we do not deem it worthy of further notice, than to say that the closest scrutiny of our columns will not show a word to support it. If a refusal to endorse every word uttered by Abby Kelley, or promulgated by the American Anti-Slavery Society, is to fasten upon us the guilt and crime of slaveholding, we can't help it. We have our own views with respect to the institution of Slavery, and at a proper time may lay them before our readers. But in the meantime we are perfectly willing to allow those who differ with us in opinion to pursue their way unmolested. We certainly donot consider ourself so infallible as to pronounce our scheme the only just or feasible one. While we entertain a proper respect for the opinions of others, we have sufficient self-respect to induce us to express our own with regard to the means employed, or the policy pursued by any moral reformer. We consider the article of our correspondent, in view of all the circumstances, a direct attack on the independence of the press. It is rather remarkable, that those who assume to be the staunchest advocates of the liberty of speech, and of the press, and who indulge in this liberty with a vengeance—cannot tolerate a whisper of disapprobation in relation to themselves. We had the presumption, in defending our position against the imputations of our correspondent, to express ourself with freedom in relation to the policy adopted by him and his coadjutors on a certain occasion; and if it were not too late to pursue the investigation with any expectation of profit, we could triumphantly prove the justness of our sentiment, by an appeal to facts and arguments which have been repeated again and again in Anti-Slavery publications. To punish us for our presumption, in daring to vary in our thoughts and expressions from the clique that gives tone and character to the American Anti-Slavery Society—he appeals to the Abolitionists of Bucks county very significantly, and to make his appeals effective, degrades himself and friends by a declaration of subserviency, and by charging us with having cast "odium or reproach" on that "devoted female"—Abby Kelley—the Society's representative—and consequently on the Society itself. So it seems the decisions of the American Anti-Slavery Society, directed as it is by a few individuals, must be esteemed final and infallible, and the propriety of the conduct of its agents must not be questioned. But whilst we have given some evidence of our liberality, in publishing the uncalled for sarcasms of our correspondent, and are determined to maintain our independence at all hazards, we think it is evident that we have not been convicted, even with the aid of the zeal and ingenuity of our correspondent, of casting odium on Abby Kelley. We gave her much credit for honesty, capacity, and philanthropy, at the same time excusing as well as we could her improprieties.

From the Christian World.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY EXAMINER. No. 13. Can Abolitionists vote or take office under the United States Constitution? New-York: American Anti-Slavery Society, 142 Nassau Street. 1845.

The pamphlets which, from time to time have been published in the series entitled, "The Anti-Slavery Examiner," have generally been marked by distinguished ability. The name of WENDELL PHILLIPS appended to the introduction, is a sufficient guaranty for the ability of the number before us. Mr. Phillips is a distinguished leader of the old American Anti-Slavery Society, and is, we believe, the real discoverer of the "no-voting theory." At all events, we consider that, by his ingenuity, eloquence, and moral power, the Society was brought to occupy its present position, namely, "That secession from the present United States Government, is the duty of every Abolitionist; since no one can take office, or throw a vote for another to hold office under the United States Constitution, without violating his principles, and rendering himself an abettor of the slaveholder in his sin."

The present pamphlet is a series of very shrewd and adroit answers to seventeen objections made to this position. Some of them are perfect answers, and put to flight the several objections against which they are opposed. Others are not quite so satisfactory. We should have much preferred to have seen the laboring oar taken by the writer, and the "no-voting theory" attempted to be affirmatively maintained. We have read articles and speeches in support of it. But they generally assume some one or more points of the argument, after doing which they can manage the remainder very easily, or else, endeavor to succeed by reducing some particular opponent to an absurdity. If we understand Mr. Phillips aright, he has concluded that no action under the Constitution will ever avail anything for human rights, nor secure any amendments of its objectionable clauses. He propo es, as a cure, the peaceful *repeal of the Union*, by the refusal of seven States to send Senators to the United States Congress, as a feasible measure. He supposes, probably, that this hint may one day be acted upon; and as a beginning must be made somewhere, the proper action of anti-slavery men, he thinks, is to take the ground, now, of "no union," by a peaceable, practical, unresisting dissolution for themselves. * * *

From the Liberator.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN NEW BEDFORD.

Agreeably to public notice, an Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Liberty Hall, New Bedford, on Saturday and Sunday, March 8th and 9th.

The Convention was called to order on Saturday, at 11 o'clock, A. M.

The following persons were nominated for officers, and accepted by the meeting:

Andrew Robeson, President; John Bailey, 1st Vice President; John F. Emerson, 2d Vice President; Daniel Ricketson, Secretary; William Stevenson, As-istant Secretary.

The following persons were appointed a Committee of Finance:

John F. Emerson, Willard Tripp, William C. Coffin, George M. Barker, Thomas M. Hathaway.

The following persons were appointed a Committee of Business:

William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, John F. Emerson, Edmund Quincy, Dr. Sisson, Elizabeth Russell, Caroline Weston.

The following resolutions were subsequently reported to the meeting by W. L. Garrison, as Chairman of that Committee:

Resolved, That admiring the fidelity, though we detest the barbarity, with which Southern slaveholders cling to the atrocious system of Slavery, we hereby solemnly renew our pledge to them, to the victims whom they are ruthlessly subjecting to chains and servitude, to the land in which we live, and to the friends of freedom throughout the world, that, as Abolitionists, we shall be equally faithful and uncompromising in our conflict with the Slave Power—disheartened by no temporary defeat—diverted from our purpose by no false issue—and resolved never to abandon the field until the last bondman be set free, and liberty be universally triumphant.

Resolved, That the recent message of John Tyler, the Virginian slaveholder and slave-breeder, to the Congress of the United States, expressive of his deep abhorence of the foreign slave-trade, and boasting what this man-stealing republic has done for the suppression of that nefarious trade, is an embodiment of an official hypocrisy and effrontery, calculated to excite the scorn of Heaven and the indignation of earth; and finds its parallel only in the conduct of those old Jewish formalists and oppressors who smote with the fist of wickedness, and crushed the poor and needy beneath their tyrannous power, while they piously inquired after the ordinances of justice, as those who worked righteousness, and took delight in approaching to God.

Resolved, That the *foreign* slave-trade is as innocent and laudable as the *domestic* slave-trade; and that the whole traffic, whether foreign or domestic, is just as deserving of protection and extension as the slave system.

Resolved, That there is no difference in criminality between the slave-traders on the African coast, and the slaveholders in the United States; therefore, the same punishment should be meted out to them all as the pirates of their race. If the former class should be hung by the neck till they are dead, so should the latter.

Resolved, That the defence made by Captain Gilbert Ricketson, for having returned a fugitive slave found on board of his vessel to his tyrannical master in Norfolk, by which treacherous act a worthy and inoffensive colored citizen of New Bedford was doomed to years of confinement in the Virginia penitentiary as a felon, is a defence which, instead of exonerating him in the slightest degree from condemnation, only serves to deepen his infamy.

Resolved, That the crime of which Captain Ricketson was guilty, was one of transcendent enormity;—nothing less than being an accessory to kidnapping;—a crime which, if it had been committed on the coast of Africa, would have been treated as capital by the law of Congress respecting the slave-trade.

Resolved, That the admission of another slave State—Florida—into the Union, almost without a single vote of remonstrance on the part of the people of the North, is another melancholy proof of the utter subjugation of the whole country to the slaveholding Oligarchy, and demonstrates the fearful degeneracy which has taken place in the moral sentiment of New England, since the memorable conflict with Slavery in 1820, to prevent the admission of Missouri into the Union as a slave State.

Resolved, That the Democratic party of this country, having in a most shameful and profligate manner consecrated itself to the vindication, extension, and perpetuation of the Heaven-accursed system of Slavery, and, consequently to the overthrow of the anti-slavery movement, it becomes the imperative duty of the friends of liberty and emancipation in a special manner to expose the exceeding impiety of that party, and, while it maintains its present hostile attitude, to conspire for its annihilation.

Whereas, at a recent Convention held by the Whig members of the Legislature of this State, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That, speaking in the name and in behalf of the Whigs of Massachusetts, we nail our colors to the mast, and pledge ourselves to the State and country, to do all in our power to keep the old Bay State where she is, and where she has been, and where we trust she ever may be, the consistent supporter and example of what is lawful, orderly, and right, the friend of THE UNION, THE WHOLE UNION, THE UNION AS IT IS." Therefore,

Resolved, That as the American Union is erected on human skulls, and cemented with human blood, this avowal of the Whig party of its determination to adhere for the future, as it has done in the past, to "the Union, the whole Union, the Union as it is," demonstrates its inherent hostility to the cause of impartial liberty, and its readiness to act as the watch-dog of Southern plantations; and that, like the Democratic party, it proclaims the necessity for its utter extirpation.

Resolved, That the Liberty party, so called, is not an anti-slavery instrumentality, but is injurious to our cause, in a moral and political sense; and that, arraigned at the tribunal of Freedom and Humanity, it is found equally corrupt with the Whig and Democratic parties, in its support of the blood-stained American Union and Constitution.

Resolved, That the violent expulsion of Samuel Hoar and Henry Hubbard, from South Carolina and Louisiana, sent as the legal representatives of Massachusetts to seek protection for the rights and liberties of citizens of this Commonwealth visiting those States for business purposes, was a natural and necessary action on the part of the Southern Moloch, in order to prevent the subversion of its horrid idolatry, and the institution of the worship of the God of freedom.

Resolved, That South Carolina and the other slave States, in seizing, imprisoning, and at their will enslaving such citizens of Massachusetts as they choose, who happen to be caught on their soil, by these acts trample upon the United States Constitution, put the Bill of Rights of this State into the consuming fire, declare the American Union dissolved, and make war upon Massachusetts as a hostile and independent nation.

Resolved, That there is no disposition or intention on the part of the General Government to vindicate the rights of the citizens of this Commonwealth, south of Mason and Dixon's line. Therefore,

Resolved, That, aside from all other considerations and all other facts, the time has come for the people of Massachusetts to refuse any longer to be dragged in chains at the chariot wheels of the South,—to snap those chains indignantly asunder,—and to declare that they are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Resolved, That the great, vital, decisive issue with Slavery is, the immediate dissolution of the American Union; that any action short of this is to enter into a guilty compromise with oppression and blood-guiltiness; and, therefore, that the rallying-cry of the uncompromising champions of liberty will be, at all times, and under all circumstances, to the end of the conflict—"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!"—Therefore,

Resolved, That Anti-Slavery is a glorious REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, for the institution of a new Government, the vindication of the inalienable rights of all mankind, and the eternal overthrow of every form of tyranny.

These highly important resolutions were discussed with great spirit, and in strains of thrilling eloquence, by Messrs. Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison, (various other friends of the cause also partiicipating in the discussion,) in the presence of a numerous auditory.

A collection (amounting to $19.50) was taken up in aid of the wife and children of the unfortunate Boyer, now confined in the penitentiary of Virginia.

ANDREW ROBESON, President.

DANIEL RICKETSON, WILLIAM STEVENSON, } Secretaries.

Though the weather was quite unpropitious, the attendance in the day time was numerous, and in the evening crowded. We have never attended a meeting where more cogent truths were spoken, or more eloquent appeals were made, or heavier blows were struck at the root of the Southern Upas tree. Douglass was uncommonly powerful, and Phillips poured forth a flood of eloquence, never exceeded by any of the Adamses or Otises of revolutionary memory. The hearts of the friends of emancipation were animated afresh, a strong impetus was given to the Anti-Slavery movement, and a flood of light was poured on the question of the dissolution of the exitsing Union between the free and the slave States. It was an occasion long to be remembered as one of deep interest and signal importance.—*Ed. Lib.*

Communications.

Letter from John Jay.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard:

SIR—A press of engagements during the last three weeks must be my apology for not having replied, at an earlier date, to the two articles in your paper, one from the pen of Mr. Quincy, and the other from a correspondent under the signature of "*Caveat Emptor.*" Both require at my hands some notice, and the few words which I shall now offer I trust may be the last that I shall ever be called upon to write in reference to the subject which has made me an unwilling controversialist in your columns. "Caveat Emptor," addressing me personally, propounds a case of monstrous fraud, and requests me to point the difference between it, and the transfer of the Emancipator by the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Notwithstanding the civil manner in which the request is urged, I must decline entering upon an argument, which has now raged, with occasional interruptions, for nearly five years, and which I had no idea of reviving, when I published a simple statement in defence of myself and my associates against certain charges impeaching our integrity. I did not appear as the champion of the American Board, of which I never was a member, and I do not intend now to assume that character. The gentlemen who composed it, have, I believe, always been ready to answer for themselves.

For the conduct of the New-York City Society, only, while I was their President, am I at all responsible, and I have already answered frankly the charges made against them. I have stated explicitly that no proof was offered to us, by the Committee who applied for the retransfer of the paper, that any fraud had entered into the transaction—that if such proof had been offered, I for one would have restored the Emancipator on the instant.

"The strong legal arguments" which they used, referred not to fraud, but the alleged insufficient authority of the Executive Committee, apart from any improper motive to act without the consent of the Society whom they represented. That if they had the legal right to dispose of the property of the Society, they ought not to have exercised it, until they had obtained the acquiescence of the body by whom they were appointed—and the retransfer was demanded on the ground that the Society, in its corporate capacity, had disapproved of their conduct. As this question of the powers of an executive committee, and their moral right to act according to their own judgment, was one on which our opinions differed from those of the gentlemen who came to us; on the supposition apparently admitted by them at the time, that the legal right to the paper was vested in us, (which would not have been the case had fraud been shown,) I said that, according to their own reasoning, we ought to submit the question of the retransfer, grounded on propriety, and involved as it was in doubt, to the society whom we represented, and whose annual business meeting was expected to be held in a few weeks.

In my two former articles upon this subject, although I intended to be as clear as possible, I have been singularly unfortunate, judging from the replies in your paper, in conveying my meaning. I trust that I have now made myself understood.

We had nothing to do with any question of fraud, but only with the question whether we were in duty or in honor bound, to reconvey to the American Society, property legally conveyed to us by their Executive Committee without their approval—which property we regarded as absolutely our own, and respecting which we had entered into certain engagements.

The gentlemen who came to us intimated *their belief* that there was fraud in the transaction, and we declared *our belief* that there was no fraud. If they had proof at hand they should have produced it. They produced no proof—*Fraus est odiosa et non praesumenda*, (Fraud is odious and ought not to be presumed,) and no fraud being shown, we had a right to suppose that it did not exist. And it is extremely unfair now to charge us with participating in fraud, or in implicating us as the passive tools of designing men, in what Mr. Quincy is pleased to call "a dirty transaction, which, from its very nature can never be forgotten, the odor of which will adhere to him (that is myself) to the end of the longest life." Had the transfer, by the Executive Committee, of the Emancipator been as base, as fraudulent, and as wicked a transaction, as it has been represented to be by its most violent opposers, I say that we acted not only with honesty but with propriety; that if we were unsuspecting in the matter, ours was not a credulousness characteresitic of puerility, but a confidence suggested by reason, and sanctified by the law:—a confidence which we were bound to feel, against every suspicion of Mr. Loring and his associates, until they laid before us satisfactory evidence that these suspicions were well founded—and by no one of these gentlemen was a single particle of proof adduced, or offered to be adduced, in support of their intimations.

I disclaim, therefore, the benefit of Mr. Quincy's charitable suggestion, that I was a "very, very young man." I avow myself as responsible for the part I bore in it, as if it had been done yesterday.

Mr. Quincy says, "I do not believe that Mr. Jay meant to do a dishonest action in receiving the Emancipator, any more than I do that he deliberately told the calumnious falsehoods contained in his address put forth on the eve of that meeting. In both cases he acted as the mouthpiece and instrument of men whom he did not believe could lie or cheat," &c.

Mr. Quincy is mistaken. Neither in the case to which he refers, nor in any other in the course of my life, have I acted as the mouthpiece or instrument of any man or any set of men. Nor have I ever, at the dictation of others, or of my own accord, told any calumnious falsehoods. My opinions have differed, and doubtless in many points, do now widely differ, from those of Mr. Quincy—but whatever they have been, they have always been honestly entertained.

The short "address" to which he refers, was written by myself, and I do not remember that a single suggestion in it originated with another. I have no wish to arouse unpleasant feelings, by reviving the points to which it refers—and therefore I refrain from introducing it here. But it is right for me to say, that I have carefully looked it over since the appearance of Mr. Q's article, and I deny that it contains one calumnious falsehood, or states one single principle which I do not now hold.

I believed that there was a disposition to introduce among Abolitionists other questions than those included in the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and that good faith toward the world, to whom we had given solemn pledges, as well as the best interests of our holy cause, demanded that we should resolutely adhere to the few simple principles upon which we had originally united.

For the good opinion which Mr. Quincy bestows upon me, and the kind hope and belief that my course will be worthy of the name I bear, I return him my cordial thanks. I should have shown myself utterly unworthy of such a hope, had I allowed the impression given by his article to pass unnoticed and undenied, that I had been at any period of my life a mouthpiece or an instrument in the hands of others, or that I was willing to avoid the responsibility of a deliberate act, committed only a few years since, on the plea of youthful credulity. I beg that those who most disapprove of my conduct, will make no allowance for it on that account, as I now reaffirm my sincere belief, that in the matter of the Emancipator, all the circumstances thereof being considered, we acted not only honestly, but wisely.

And here I leave the subject, with the hope, and indeed the determination, of never recurring to it again. If there is one maxim in law more applicable to it than another, I think it is that which declares, "*Debet esse finis litium,*" there should be an end of disputes. Did this controversy involve any one principle, the development of which would advance our noble cause, or add to the happiness of a single individual, I might hesitate to drop it: but no such happy consequence can possibly result from it: it is calculated to call forth angry feelings, rather than those of mutual confidence and respect,—and it has, moreover, assumed in the present case a personal character, which renders it as unpleasing to myself, as it must doubtless be uninteresting to your readers.

I regret to differ in opinion with my friends—but such is the infinite variety of men's minds, that I believe no honest man ever yet had an honest friend from whom on some points he did not differ. And I think that the grand mistake into which Abolitionists, like thousands of others, have fallen, is that of imagining that they ought to agree, or could by any means be brought to agree, on any other subject, than the single principle of stern, uncompromising opposition to Slavery. However opposite their views on other matters, however various their opinions in regard to the measures best calculated to secure their common aim in this matter, they may and they ought to labor with as much harmony as possible, to deliver their countrymen from bondage, and remove from the land the awful curse which base and profligate men are now so fiercely endeavoring to perpetuate and extend.

The battle we are waging is too mighty to justify the combatants in toying the while with their frivolous quarrels. Our Government is swayed by a clique of Southern masters, who, bringing to the Halls of Congress the spirit and tone of slave-drivers, play the part of plantation overseers to the assembled legislators of this great people—and Northern Democrats, sent thither to represent free constituents, obey the beck of these haughty aristocrats, with an abject, lickspittle servility, which the soul of an honest man sickens to contemplate. Learning from a Southern Senator to regard the "Constitution" as a blurred and tattered parchment," they trample it under their feet; and, false to the soil that gave them birth, false to the constituents who elected them, false to Humanity and to GOD, they sell themselves and their delegated power, for any sop which their employers will bestow. No deed too filthy, no principle too infamous, no treachery too revolting, no rascality too intense for these traitors when allured with the promise of a seat in the Cabinet, or the spoils of some lesser office. Like a hungry dog bribed with a bone, they will dance to any tune their masters may please to whistle.

Deep as we thought the pit of our country's infamy, the passage of the Texan bill has disclosed to us a yet lower depth—and it is surely a fitting time for Abolitionists to forget all lesser differences, and join heart and hand to crush the dark system which makes slaves, not only of our colored countrymen at the South, but of *our own free white representatives*—for unless the damned oppression be soon abolished, shorn of our boasted honor, and become a by-word and a reproach to the hoary kingdoms of the earth, there will only remain for us—

——"Infamy now, oppression! ir reversion,
And Heaven's inevitable curse hereafter."

With sincere regard,
Your faithful servant,
JOHN JAY.

NEW-YORK, March 1, 1845.

Copy of a Letter to Hiram Wilson, from a Blind Woman, Anna Trumbull, aged eighty-one years.

Dear Friend:—Mr. Wilson:—I send you seventeen pairs of stockings and two pairs of mittens. I have likewise given three pairs of stockings to a man and woman who said they were going to Canada; which, together with about half a dozen pair that I have knit for the poor of this country, has been as much as I have been able to do in a year past. I have spent most of the four years past in knitting for the poor in Canada; I am eighty-one years old; perhaps you may never hear from me again. These seventeen pairs of stockings make the number seventy that I have knit for Canada, and eight pairs of mittens. I wish you to give them to the poorest of the good people, and tell them to thank the Lord for them. I am entirely blind, and have not seen the stockings myself.

From your friend,
ANNA TRUMBULL.

October 29, 1843.

* * * * * * * * *

Mrs. Trumbull is very anxious to know how her stockings are disposed of. If you could favor us with a line, it would be very pleasing to her.

I think there is no Anti-Slavery lecturers who work harder for the slave than she does. A. P.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1845.

Organization.

In another column of to-day's paper will be found an extract from the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, on organization. I commend it to the careful perusal of all our readers.

At the time when Dr. Channing wrote upon this subject, the test of a man's anti-slavery was held by his neighbors to be his connection with a Society. The few who cared for, or thought of the slave, sought to add to their strength, by combining it with that of others. Alone they felt that they were almost powerless, for then was the day of small things, when every man felt that the weight of the cause rested upon his shoulders, and he would gladly seek the friendly help of the few who, with him, were glad to bear the burden which one could not bear alone. Dr. Channing, great as the good was which he did, did not probably at that time, inoculate many with his peculiar views on this point. For he who became an Abolitionist, adopted at once the course which common sense pointed out to him was the only practicable one—that of voluntary association with the few who, like himself, were working for a common end. They who adopted the Doctor's views, compounded between their consciences and their prejudices, between their dislike of Slavery, and their hatred of Abolitionists, and in the various forms which their opposition assumed, arose the most subtle pro-slavery influence with which we had to contend. But this mischief came later, for in the earlier days of the cause, men did not dare to be Anti-Slavery at all. It was after it became somewhat less obnoxious that it was tolerated, provided that the denunciation of Slavery in the abstract was accompanied with a more hearty denunciation of Abolitionists and Anti-Slavery Societies in the concrete. Many a New England pulpit can be called to testify to the truth of this. I have heard the most rabid pro-slavery in public meetings adduce Dr. Channing's views as satisfactory evidence of the foolishness and the wickedness of the measures of Abolitionists. The good then he did at first was in awakening men's hearts and consciences to the evils and the sin of Slavery; and one so awakened, if faithful to his convictions, sought naturally and necessarily his plans. The evil that was done came afterward, when a certain degree of Anti-Slavery was necessary to respectable morality; and hundreds, perhaps thousands, by the influence which the Doctor created, have held themselves aloof from the cause, and have satisfied their consciences by a barren testimony, lest, forsooth, they should lose their individuality, by "going into the mixture," and helping others to do what can only be done by concerted and united action. They would cry fire! with a very faint voice, but cut the hose and clog the wheels of the engines, lest a company should put it out.

That there are evils attendant upon corporations, I, for one, have never doubted; and even that evils may sometimes grow out of voluntary association, I sincerely believe. But an Anti-Slavery Society is not a Corporation; and up to the present time, every attempt at demagogueism in the associated bodies, has been promptly met by the cleansing and effectual process of "*sifting.*" Abolitionists have always evinced a remarkable distaste for being devoured, and so long as they continue to reluct at this process, they are perfectly safe from any evils which may grow out of simple association. The beauty and the safeguard of their Societies, is, that they require no test—unless that be called one, which requires that all shall believe Slavery a sin—and all, therefore, are left free to adopt or reject the measures which the majority shall think best calculated to accomplish their object. Perhaps it was the peculiar discipline to which Dr. Channing's mind had been subjected, that led him to overlook this distinguishing trait in Anti-Slavery Societies. As the head of a religious sect, which in its early days contended against the enforcement of a creed, and the trammelling of the spirit by any appeal to authority, it is not strange that he feared the reappearance of the evil against which he had struggled; and as it is not unusual, even with the greatest and the best of men, he thought that none out of the pale of his own circle, had grasped the truth for which he had so long contended, and felt therefore a sort of paternal regard, and in which he claimed something of the right of monopoly. Perhaps, too, a feeling of timidity, which, however blameworthy, was not strange, led him unconsciously to take a position by which he could escape much of the obnoxious fame to which he would have been exposed, had he without hesitation given his influence and assistance to the only class of persons who were then—or are now—doing anything for the abolition of Slavery.

But however it was, matters little now. Had he lived a little longer he might have learned that Abolitionists, in uniting their efforts for the single purpose of enlightening the public mind and arousing the public conscience, were doing precisely the thing which commonsense, and philosophy teach is the only practicable way; and that in so doing, nothing of individual freedom is lost, but the power of individual action is gained. Had he attended our anti-slavery meetings he would have learned that freedom of speech was in nowise trammeled because one man was appointed to attend to certain duties which would be neglected, or done with greater trouble, if left to any one who chose to do them. And had he belonged to a society, he would have found that a donation of five dollars would have been better expended by an agent appointed to see where it could be expended to the most advantage, than by himself who had not the time nor the opportunity to direct most advantageously its disbursement. A practical experience would have taught him that he would have no more lost his individuality in such an association, than he did by paying money into the Common School Fund, or contributing to the support of the Boston Dispensary, that the poor might be relieved in illness by the attendance of a physician, for whose services others paid. An Anti-Slavery Society established on the principles on which all are, now existing in this country, is nothing more nor less than a voluntary association to do certain things by concerted action, which would not, and could not, be done without it. It is neither a party nor a sect, in the accepted meaning of those terms, nor can it be so long as it preserves inviolate the spirit which has always distinguished it, and which it still maintains.—G.

New Bedford Convention.

An Anti-Slavery Convention was held in New Bedford on Saturday and Sunday, March 8th and 9th, which surpassed in spirit and interest any of the previous gatherings, successful as they have uniformly been, in that beautiful town. The whole range of the cause was surveyed and discussed in the most ample and thorough manner. The new aspects which the determination of the Texas question presents to Abolitionists, and to the country, of course occupied a considerable share of the attention of the meeting. The conduct of the Democratic and Whig parties was freely considered, and their respective shares of praise and blame as accurately adjusted as the nature of the case permitted. The Third party was again branded as the most mischievous, because the most insidious enemy now in the field. The case of Captain Gilbert Ricketson, as one peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of that town, one of whose number he had consigned to a slaveholding penitentiary for assisting the escape of a fugitive slave, whom he himself restored to bondage, received a due share of attention. This case, in fact, opened the whole question of Slavery, and of the guilty participation of the whole country in its maintenance, and was made the text for extended remarks on the religious as well as the political phases of the guilt of the North. These and other topics were discussed by Messrs. Garrison, Phillips, Douglass, Quincy, Bailey, Clapp, Ray, and others. Messrs. Phillips, Garrison, and Douglass never made more eloquent and effective addresses. The meetings were held in Liberty Hall, with the exception of the one on Saturday evening, which was held in the Town Hall. They were uniformly well attended, the interest and numbers increasing with every session, till both reached their height on Sunday evening, which concluded the Convention.

The Anti-Slavery friends in New Bedford seemed to be entirely satisfied with the result of their Convention, and they might well be satisfied. It was never my fortune to attend one marked by a more earnest spirit or a deeper enthusiasm. Its effects must be deeply and permanently beneficial. It is unnecessary to say, to any who have any personal knowledge of the place and of its inhabitants, that the kindest and most fraternal hospitality was extended by the Anti-Slavery friends to those who had come up from abroad to their assembly. It was an occasion that will be long had in fresh remembrance by all who enjoyed the friendly intercourse and the Anti-Slavery communion which attended it.—Q.

Where is the Responsibility?

"We have nothing to do with Slavery:"—"we are not responsible for it:"—has been the argument for years of the besotted people of the Northern States. It is as senseless as the Southern argument, that England alone is guilty in this matter, because she introduced the slaves into her colonies. The one party forgets that it recreates the system in the person of every child born of a slave mother in the Southern States; and the other will not see that the moral and physical power behind the slaveholder, and which enables him to be such, comes from Northern irreligion, and immorality, and Northern bayonettes. The CHURCH and the CONSTITUTION, the one *Christianizing*, and the other legalizing the felon system, are its bulwark and its strength. Who constitute the Church, and who give to the Constitution its power? Not the two hundred and fifty thousand slaveholders; not the minority of the Southern States, but the majority of the North. Strike from under the hideous sin the foundation on which it rests in Church and State, and it falls of its own weight. The slaveholders would not dare much longer to be slaveholders, when all Christendom should be arrayed against them as the chiefest of sinners, and when the universal struggle for freedom in other nations should be to them a continual reproach. If conscience would not, self-preservation would soon drive them to abandon their system. They would fly, as the Philistines did, from their crumbling temple when Sampson seized and broke its two great pillars.

"The North are the *slaveholders*," somebody has said, "though the South are the slave owners." Even in the last act of the slave-power, the annexation of Texas, this is most signally shown. Annexation is a Southern measure, but like all Southern measures, it was consummated by the North. The Morning News, in the plenitude of its desire, probably to prove the virtue of its party, has made a calculation, by which the scoundrelism of the North, as the slaveholding power, is put beyond a question. The final vote in the Senate, upon the Texas Bill and Resolutions, was, yeas, 27; nays, 25. Of the 27 yeas, 13 were Senators from the free States, and 14 from the slave States. Of the 25 nays, 15 were from the free States, and 10 from the slave States. The News adds:

The thirteen Senators from the *free* States who voted *for* Annexation, represented a population *greater* than that represented by the fifteen Senators from the *free* States, who voted *against* Annexation by 4,631,043

And the ten Senators from the *slaveholding* States who voted *against* Annexation, represent a population *greater* than the fourteen Senators from the slaveholding States who voted *for* it represented, by 806,794

And the twenty-seven Senators, who voted for Annexation, represented a majority of the whole people of the United States, of . . 3,824,249

By this it would seem that the North is not simply equally guilty, but more guilty of the extension and perpetuation of Slavery than the South; for the population represented by the Southern Senators who voted against Annexation exceeds that represented by those who voted for it, by nearly a million; while the Northern Senators who voted in its favor, represent a population outnumbering a majority of the whole people represented by all who voted for it! But this need not surprise us. The South has

time, and the upper rows of the theatres, a few murders a year, the gambling "hells," and all the devilish sin which all the time is going on in its thousand infamous resorts, does not move them half so much as one simple song in which these young persons and their sister dare to tell the people that they wish the slaves were free. Truly this is a remarkable metropolis of a very remarkable nation, the freest on the globe. You may do any thing but preach, or pray, or strive, or even sing for Liberty. *That* is the unpardonable sin.

The Hutchinsons announced in the Programme of their first Concert, the song which all Abolitionists know—"Get off the Track." On the following morning the Express came out with this paragraph:

"*The Abolition music of the Hutchinson family.*—In a programme of the Concert of the Hutchinson family we see a song called, "A Song for Emancipation," the sentiments of which are of the most ultra abolition school, and such as must be highly offensive to a New-York audience. We have long known that the male part of this family were Locofoco Abolitionists, but we had always supposed they had shrewdness enough not to embody so gross an expression of their sentiments in music intended to be sung in public. If they persist in rousing the prejudices of the people by these appeals, they had better return to New Hampshire. A respectable audience will not attend a Concert to witness the disgraceful scenes that were exhibited at the discussion of Dr. Grant and Dr. McCune Smith, at the Society Library."

This had, if not the desired effect of stirring up a mob, at least influence enough to create considerable excitement. Several well-disposed persons requested me to warn our friends of the state of public feeling. Sixty young men, one report said, had determined that the song should not be sung. The matter was one of general talk in the hotel bar-rooms. The Hutchinsons received warnings also from other quarters, and the speedy downfall of their popularity was predicted as the certain result of their fool-hardiness. But they did n't get frightened. "You had better quit such nonsense," said one. "If we can't sing the truth," said they, "we can't sing at all." "It will ruin you," said another. "Then we will go home and dig potatoes," they answered. "We sing for Liberty or not at all." "But consider, you can never go South if you sing this." "I am an Abolitionist now, and have dissolved the Union, and do not wish to go," one of them replied. Their simple honesty puzzled the caterers for public taste, who concluded "to let them go to the devil their own way." So the song was sung, and sung from the heart, with no hesitation and no trembling, but even with applause from the audience; for the firm and simple virtue of these four young country people, shamed the city out of its evil designs. And they have continued to sing "for Liberty," in spite of the croakings of three or four of the papers—the editor of one of which is said to have married a slaveholder, and that of another is a pious member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and they,—no wonder—hate the sound of Freedom.

I have made a longer story than I meant to, but the fact is worthy of record. If the Hutchinsons had not already a warm place in the hearts of Abolitionists, this would give it them. They are worthy of all praise for their manly conduct, for the good they are doing for the cause in setting principle above pelf, and in awakening, through the love of song, a love for the slave—for such they are doing.

Compensation.

The following letter from Virginia, was published a few days since in the Tribune. As an evidence of the growing anti-slavery feeling in the border slave States, it is interesting. But as purporting to present a practicable method of abolishing Slavery, it is pernicious. Even would the plan proposed be carried into operation, its effect could only be to enhance the value of slave property, by taking a portion of it out of the market. Property in men, as in everything else, rises in value as the supply is diminished, and the demand increased. Slavery will never be abolished in this country except by voluntary Emancipation, or Revolution.

PETERSBURG, Va. March 2, 1845.

To the Editor of the Tribune:

I am a Virginian by birth, and as such might be supposed to be opposed to the abolition of Slavery. But not so: I have, from mature reflection and long observation, come to the firm conclusion, that Slavery is not only a curse to the community in which it exists, but religiously wrong. I have travelled in both slave and free States, and have always found the inhabitants of free States more prosperous and happy than in slave States. I might say much more in support of my opinion, but that would be useless to you. My object is to give my views as to the easiest mode of accomplishing the abolition of Slavery. The violent plans of some only rivet the chains tighter, and make the condition of the slave worse; for, my word for it, it will never be accomplished by violent denunciations or force, for Southern feeling is such that they would sooner shed the blood of every slave, and their own too, than have them freed contrary to their will. Now my plan will be a conciliatory plan—say this: try to induce the slave States to raise a fund, by taxes on slave property, for the purchase of slaves, and also let the North raise a fund, by any means they think best, for the same purpose—the slave States to pass a law that every slave, when he shall arrive at a certain age, shall have freedom by the Society, which shall be formed for the purpose, making it appear to the proper authority that he has arrived at said age, and paying to his master, say three-quarters of his value, the other quarter to be reserved as a fund to colonize said slaves in some country selected for that purpose. Suppose Virginia would pass such a law, and put the tare at one dollar on the slave as a fund for that purpose; that would raise an amount which, with private donations, and the assistance of the North, would free more slaves in one year than all the denunciations against them would in one hundred years—and it would be calculated to win the slaveholder to the cause. For when he would find that the North was acting under feelings of humanity, and was willing that the master should have pay for his slaves, instead of trying to wrest them from him forcibly, it would call forth all their better feelings, and many would be more liberal than the Northern people, and particularly so if their slaves were to be sent to some other country to themselves. It would be hard for the South to agree to set them free and let them remain with them, for that would make the condition of both worse. The Southern people are much easier persuaded to a course than forced. England had as well pass laws and resolutions for France as for the North to pass laws and resolutions to free the slaves of the South. Get the South, by some conciliatory course, to pass laws themselves, and then a good object will be accomplished; for when commenced it will go on.

Respectfully, W. P. G.

News from Texas.

The steamship New-York arrived at New Orleans on the 13th instant, from Galveston, with advices to the 8th.

By the subjoined extracts from Texas papers, it will be seen that the Texans do not like the terms on which Annexation is offered to them. They want their public debt paid, and this the House Resolutions forbid. They do not like either to give up all their public property, and are not willing to be placed in such dependence on this Government as the Joint Resolutions would compel them to. Especially they reject all interference with the "peculiar institution," and are not willing that that little barren northern corner of mountains and sand should be prostituted to Liberty.

Should Texas maintain the position she seems inclined here to take, it may create some little difficulty and delay in arranging the terms of Annexation. It is not likely that it will do more than this. She is only blustering probably for a better bargain. She wants the protection of the Union, and she wants the Union's slaves, and the South wants a market for her domestic manufacture of human beings, and the increased power which Annexation will give to her. They neither of them mean to be disappointed. They will not quarrel about the dish in which the blood and bones—human blood and bones—shall be put, so as to run any risk of losing the infernal feast.

Some of the Waig papers are clapping their hands, and counting on the prospect of the project being defeated altogether. If it is to be done by the treaty-making power, two-thirds of the Senate can never be brought to consent, say they. That would be to suppose that the number of Whig scoundrels in that body would be doubled. These gentlemen will find their calculations come to naught. If Texas is to be annexed by treaty, it will be done by treaty, let the Whig press say what it will. The scoundrels will be found when wanted. The slave-power knows full well that she can calculate on the obedience of her vassals, and knows well enough what she is about.

From the Galveston Register.

If the people of Texas choose to revolutionize their Government and institute some new and different republican organization, they may do so without the leave of a foreign Government "*first had and obtained.*" But the United States have acknowledged our title to be recognized as an independent nation, both *de facto* and *de jure*. Should we adopt the course designated by their resolutions we at once *lose the benefit of that acknowledgment. We pass into a state of imbecile and hopeless dependence upon that power,*—to be annexed?—certainly never, until their aspiring partisans shall cease to need the *material* we now furnish them for the *manufacture of political capital*. Our relations with other Governments *dissolved*, and our nationality *renounced*, the United States may *consent to hold*—as they have *consented to place us*—in a state of *penultimate but* unaccomplished, *annexation!*

But even this consent of the American Congress, meagre and valueless as it is to the people of Texas, but for which we are required to give to the United States a lien upon our country's sovereignty—this worthless consent, as if begrudged to Texas, is eked out to her at a miser's usury, and is shackled, with what lawyers call "conditions precedent." Passing by the required sacrifice of our right to adjust the boundaries of our territory, the consent of that Congress, even once more to entertain the Texas question, is coupled with the cold assurance, that if we are ever admitted into the Union at all, we must cede to the United States, "all our mines, minerals, salt lakes and springs, also all our public edifices, fortifications, barracks, ports and harbors, navy and navy yards, docks, magazines, arms, armaments, and all other property and means pertaining to the public defence." We must also yield up our revenue and our capacity to raise one; which single item, under the financial regulations of our fostering step-mother, would bring into her treasury at least three hundred thousand dollars per annum; for which we have her kind permission to retain our public domain; subject, however, to the payment of the debt, and circumscribed within such limits as she may, hereafter be pleased to assign to our territory, in the exercise of her characteristic and far-stretching diplomacy, which once reached even to the western banks of the Sabine! We must, moreover, truckle to her pet Abolitionists, by obligating ourselves to prohibit Slavery north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, known as the Missouri Compromise line.

We have always been a warm and hearty advocate for the cause of Annexation; but never did we dream that the approval of the people of Texas would be required to a proposition so absurd—so degrading as the one propounded by this resolution. Our space does not now admit of further detail. Suffice it, that we contrast our present elevated position, as a people, secure in the respect and amity of the great, enlightened nations of the earth; secure in the enjoyment of peace, and in the *speedy acquisition of acknowledged independence*; secure in the wealth which the commerce of Europe is about to pour into our lap, and in the increasing value of our lands, arising from the extended occupation, and the investment of foreign capital; secure of becoming "*the most favored*" by those powerful and wealthy sovereignties, whom both interest and policy impel to cherish our posterity and our staples; and secure that the increase of commerce will speedily render no less consistent than desirable, a great *diminution of the foreign tariff*,—with the alternative presented by this resolution, of Texas divested of all these high privileges and advantages; shorn of her attributes as a nation; crippled in her commerce, in her prosperity, in her domestic resources; depressed by the burdens of *public debt* and *direct taxation*; her land in consequence depreciated in value; and in the event of final annexation upon the proposed basis, our public domain not only *razed* and *mortgaged* to secure the payment of our debt, but even *eviscerated* of its *mineral wealth*, to swell the *federal* treasury.

This is indeed but a dim and totally inadequate view of the actual pit and grave of insignificance and infamy into which the House of Representatives of the American Congress have proposed to plunge this nation.

"Since he, miscall'd the Morning Star,
Nor man—nor fiend hath fall'n so far!"

The following is from the *Civilian and Galveston Gazette*, in comment upon the foregoing:

The article which we copy to-day from the National Register, affords gratifying evidence of the return, on the part of the friends of Annexation in this country to a proper sense of the self-respect, and an understanding of the position which Texas may and ought to assume in relation to the question. Our friends beyond the Sabine have lost sight of the homely adage that it takes two to make a bargain, and only studied how to shape measures so as to make the "reciprocity all on one side," until at length their utter selfishness and disregard of the respect due to Texas as an independent nation, which has thus far maintained her nationality, rights, and liberties, begins to produce the natural fruits of disappointment and aversion in those of our citizens who had looked to that quarter for a magnanimous and disinterested regard for our welfare and happiness. The helpless and perishing beggar may, without hesitation, accept the most humiliating conditions for, and agree to become the menial of, him from whom he receives the means of averting famine and death; but the sturdy yeoman, whose honest industry and strong arm afford him all the means of subsistence and protection requisite to his condition and habits in life, may well shun the banquet and the association, if invited into the society of the more wealthy and presuming, when his acceptance is to be coupled with acknowledgments of vassalage and inferiority.

From the Galveston Weekly News.

The Prospect.—We have already furnished incontestible evidence, that the British policy in opposition to Annexation has so far succeeded, that her Britannic Majesty's Minister has obtained the pledge of President Houston, to use his best endeavors to defeat that measure.

We are told, that upon condition of our renouncing the American Union forever, the monarchical powers of Europe will then terminate our formidable war with Mexico "forthwith and compulsively." The same friendly promise has been made from time to time for the last seven or eight years, and its repetition just at this particular crisis, when the speedy success of Annexation is beyond all reasonable doubt, is exceeding well timed in order to create a reaction in the public feeling of this country. We are not told whether this friendly mediation is again to be attended by another "armistice," as a necessary preliminary step, to be afterwards "improved into one of more convenient duration." We are, however, assured that "France and England *will openly submit to the consideration of our Government and people*, inducements for us to remain independent." Such information as this is usually confined to the chief agents of Government as a matter of State secrecy, and is rarely furnished to the public journals, except for the purpose of political influence and foreign counteraction. This announcement is made in the positive and unqualified terms of a negotiator, who has participated in all the cabinet secrets and intrigues of both hemispheres.

The public need not be surprised should this singular manifesto prove to be the harbinger of party organization, and of great exertions in this country to counteract the labors of our friends in the United States, and to defeat this great measure here, after it has triumphed there. "We shall see."

Mexican Affairs.

The New Orleans Picayune of the 13th instant, says:

We learn that the Mexican Consul in this city, Senor Anaugoiz, has received instructions to close the Consulate in this city, and that he intends doing so before the close of the month.

This has a squally look, and a further demonstration may be looked for of some sort from Mexico. If she does not declare war, it will be because of her weakness, and her internal dissensions which will forbid her to engage in foreign hostilities. In fact by annexing a portion of her territory to this country, the United States have assumed a war in which Mexico was already engaged. The moment Annexation shall be consummated, hostilities must commence between the two Governments, if Mexico continues to attempt the recovery of her revolted province, and the United States to defend her stolen one. There is not a civilized nation on the globe that would n't uphold her in the justice of such a course, unless there should be some selfish reason existing for upholding our national scoundrelism.

The weakness of Mexico which has been our temptation, may be our protection also. Though no doubt, indeed, a large portion of the people would rejoice at an excuse for further aggression. It would be perfectly in accordance with the genius of "Young America" to stop the spread of Catholicism by robbing Mexican churches. It would be rare sport for the General Quattlebums of the South and North. American patriotism has an especial love for the bodies and goods of its neighbors.

Massachusetts.

If our readers are not tired of reading, I am of publishing Massachusetts Resolutions. Her Legislators sit there in her State House with the solemnity of owls, and seem never to suspect that all their wordy nothings have about as much effect as would the winking of so many veritable owls. However, here is the last batch, at which, no doubt, General Quattlebum will shake in his shoes:

"*Ordered*, That the Committee to whom was referred the message of the Governor upon the subject of the treatment of the Hon. Samuel Hoar, in South Carolina, be directed to report to the Legislature resolves to the following effect, viz:

That Massachusetts is restrained from further present action in behalf of her citizens imprisoned in South Carolina, solely on account of their color, and from the exercise of her own powers to protect the commerce of her citizens, by her unwillingness to do the slightest violence to the Constitution of the United States, the protection of which she is claiming for her own citizens in the premises;

That South Carolina having, by her constituted authorities, interfered to prevent access to the Courts of the United States within her territory, it becomes the duty of the General Government, to afford to the citizens of our Commonwealth, while in another State, all the rights guarantied to them by the Constitution of the United States;

And that Massachusetts now demands, and will continue to demand, that the General Government make such change in the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, or such provisions by law, as will enable any citizen of Massachusetts, who may hereafter be imprisoned in any other State, solely on account of his color, to urge his claim to liberty and protection in the Courts of the United States; and that our Senators and Representatives be requested to lose no opportunity of urging this subject upon the consideration of Congress."

THE COLORED PEOPLE AND BISHOP ONDERDONK.—In another column of to-day's paper will be found an article on this subject from the Elevator. It is well written, and to the point, and I hope our colored friends will heed it. I know nothing of the circumstances under which the letter to the Bishop was written, and am ignorant even of the names of those who signed it. But it bears upon its face the character of contemptible subserviency to the haughty prelate, and the Church which recognize the colored people only as vestibule Christians, who must be content with the "second table," on the Lord's day, as well as week days. If our friends *will* make a part of the Church which is the great instrumentality in the enslaving of their kindred, they might at least choose that portion of it which makes some pretensions to considering them as men.

Circulate the Tracts.

The first edition of the "Madison Papers," compiled by Wendell Phillips, is entirely exhausted, except a few copies at this office, and a new edition is about to be issued. Some copies of "Come-outerism," and the "No-Voting Theory," are still on hand. No. 5, of Edward M. Davis' tracts, for gratuitous distribution, is published. All these should be in the hands of Abolitionists who prefer to make up their own minds as to where the truth lies, to taking the dictum of anybody else. The "Madison Papers" prove beyond cavil what the character of the Constitution was meant to be, and is. It is a most complete refutation of all the sophistry that has ever been urged on that subject. The other pamphlets are no less valuable on the subjects on which they treat. They are for sale at the Anti-Slavery offices in Boston and Philadelphia, and at this office. Send in your orders, and give them all a wide circulation.

SUPPOSED SLAVERS CAPTURED.—The Baltimore Sun says:

Last evening the United States Marshal, Forest, accompanied by officer Arch. G. Ridgely, Deputy Marshal, arrived per steamer from the United States frigate Congress, in Annapolis Roads, having in custody the Captain and two officers of the brig Montevideo, arrested by G. W. Gordon, Esquire, United States Consul at Rio, charged with aiding and abetting the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, together with nine men as witnesses. The whole party were lodged in jail to await farther action.

The Baltimore jails would hardly hold all the well known slavers that we have in this country already. The United States Marshal and his Deputy had better be on the watch to catch those on their return home from Washington, who have just been engaged in the foreign slave-trade on a magnificent scale, by the Annexation of Texas. "One murder makes a villain, a million a hero."

TROUBLE IN CHARLESTON.—The Charleston papers bring accounts of many incendiary attempts in that city. As usual, a panic exists, and the mischief is ascribed to the "happy and contented" slaves. The Mayor offers large rewards, and a public meeting has been called, to take the subject into consideration. The Morning News, the faithful organ of its party in support of Slavery, ascribes it all to the visit of Mr. Hoar, and says, to use its own atrocious words, "Massachusetts did not go to the expense of an 'a ent' in vain."

FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—The Sandusky City (Ohio) Mirror says, that two boys were recently seized there as slaves, by two persons from Kentucky, and assisted by one of the townspeople. The men were arrested for creating a riot, and examined before two justices, who put them under bonds of a hundred dollars for their appearance at the next term of the Court of Common Pleas, to answer the charge. The boys were discharged, and it is supposed have gone to Canada.

GOVERNOR DORR.—The Dorr party in Rhode Island make the unconditional liberation of their persecuted leader, the question at issue between them and their opponents at the ensuing election. Their candidate for Governor is a Whig.

FOREIGN SLAVE-TRADE.—It appears by the yearly reports to the British Parliament, that England has expended nearly twenty millions of pounds sterling,—or about one hundred millions of dollars—in her efforts to suppress the Foreign Slave-Trade. It will puzzle the most astute of our pro-slavery politicians to tell what particular political ascendancy she has gained by this vast expenditure of money.

JOHN P. HALE.—Mr. Hale has received the reward which Democratic New Hampshire has to give to a man who values conscience more than party, and refused to vote for the extension of Slavery. In the election which took place last week, he received but about 2,000 votes, and was not elected. His vote was large enough, however, to defeat his opponent. So much for the love of Liberty in the Granite State, and so much for party honor.

FREEMEN IN JAIL.—The New Orleans Picayune says:

"Some thirteen free men of color, who came here on board of vessels from free States of the Union, were yesterday placed in confinement by the Second Municipality police, in pursuance of the act forbidding free persons of color to come within the limits of the State."

Has Massachusetts nothing to do but protest against these acts of the South? The "Second Municipality police" does n't seem to mind that much.

☞ R. D. Webb, of Dublin, will accept my thanks for papers by the last steamer.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Later from England.—Arrival of the Cambria at Boston.

There is no news whatever of the missing packets.

The new Ministerial appointments are no longer matter of conjecture. Lord Dalhousie having succeeded Mr. Gladstone as President of the Board of Trade, Sir George Clerk steps into the vacant Vice Presidency, with the Mastership of the Mint. Sir Thomas Fremantle is the Secretary for Ireland; he is succeeded as Secretary at War by Mr. Sidney Herbert: and the Secretaryship to the Admiralty is filled by promoting Mr. Thomas Lowry Corry, while Lord Jocelyn is to be the new Lord. Mr. Cardwell is one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, and the Hon. William Bingham Baring, Paymaster General.

The last advices by the Hibernia, to the morning of the 4th ultimo, announced the anticipated opening of the session of Parliament on that day, and gave the substance of the Queen's speech, which had been read at Ministerial parties of members of the two houses on the preceding evening. The opening took place in the usual form, and the speech, as read by the Queen, of course corresponded in substance with the statement already published.

The address of both houses in reply in the Royal speech, were voted without much discussion. Lord Lansdowne and Lord Normandy in the House of Lords, and Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons, were the leading speakers on the Opposition side, but they moved no amendments.

Agriculture.—In the Commons, on Thursday, the 6th, the subject of Agriculture was brought under notice by a speech from Mr. Cobden, who suggested that the agriculturists should join him in asking for a Committee of Inquiry into the effect of protective duties on the interests of the farmers and tenant-laborers. Mr. Miles stated, in reply, that the agriculturists had no intention of asking for a committee. He acknowledged, however, the courtesy of Mr. Cobden, but rather distrusted the concert which he offered to establish on the subject between the two sides of the House. Mr. Baukes protested against the Committee, and expressed his hope that Government would do something better for the agriculturists than a mere Committee of Inquiry. Sir Robert Peel deprecated any discussion on the Corn laws, and said that the agricultural members who had risen so hastily to protest against the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry would have acted wiser if they had taken a fortnight to consider of it. As to his own intentions, he said he was under no pledge or condition opposed to the principles he had laid down in 1842. He would not deny the existence of agricultural distress, but he disbelieved that it was universal, or that it could be fairly attributed to the operation of the law he had introduced three years ago. "I do not believe," said Sir R. Peel, "that the change of the corn laws has been the cause of agricultural distress, and I feel bound to state that I cannot look to Parliament for a remedy for that distress in further legislation in that respect. I think the restoration of protection is impossible; and, even if it were possible, I should not sanction the establishment of increased protection as a remedy for that distress, which, I admit, prevails in some parts of the country, but which I attribute to natural causes." Mr. Gladstone took occasion to explain the reason of his secession from the Government, which is attributable to his dissent from the proposed increased grant for education in Ireland.

The discussions of the following week were not very important. Railways and the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, furnished the chief topics of debate; and Sir Charles Napier made his usual annual motion on the state of the Navy, with its usual result—a great deal of amusement to the House.

Financial Statement.—On Friday the 14th, Sir Robert Peel brought forward his Financial statement, the leading feature of which is the continuance of the Income Tax, for the purpose of allowing the reduction of other taxes which press upon the public.

Sir Robert Peel, taking as his guide, the produce of the revenue for the current year, estimates the probable income for the year ensuing, if the present taxes (including the income tax) should remain unaltered, as follows:

Customs, (deducting £500,000 for assumed loss of duty on foreign corn,)	£22,000,000
Excise (adding an assumed increase of £500,000)	13,500,000
Stamps, (as at present,)	7,100,000
Assessed taxes,	4,200,000
Post Office,	700,000
Crown Lands,	150,000
Miscellaneous,	250,000
Chinese compensation,	600,000
Half-a-year's income tax,	2,600,000
Total income,	£51,100,000
Expenditures, as at present,	48,557,000
Surplus of income,	£2,543,000

Sir Robert, after pointing out the new demands which had arisen for the services of the British navy in the Pacific, in the China seas, and on the coast of Africa, which, together, required an additional force of six thousand men, and showing the absolute necessity of maintaining a large and efficient steam marine, proceeded to state that he proposed to increase the navy estimates, by a sum of one million; making the whole estimate of the year as follows:

Interest of Debt,	£28,395,000
Other charges on consolidated fund,	2,400,000
Army,	6,617,000
Navy,	6,936,000
Ordinance,	2,142,000
Miscellaneous,	3,200,000
Total,	£49,690,000

Deducting the amount of this expenditure from the estimated income above stated, (adding to the latter £2,600,000 for another half-year's income tax,) there would remain a gross surplus of £4,000,000. From this surplus, however, Sir Robert deducts £600,000, the amount of Chinese ransom, which will not be received after the next year; leaving a net balance of £3,410,000 applicable to the reduction of valuation.

The real nature of the changes in the sugar duties, which are not very clearly explained in the speech of Sir Robert Peel will be thoroughly understood from the following statement:

The present duties are—	
Colonial sugars, 24s and 5 per cent,	25s 3d.
East India, the growths of such parts as Import foreign sugars, 32s and 5 per cent.	33s 7d.
Foreign free labor, 34s and 5 per cent.	35s 9d.
Other foreign, 63s and 5 per cent.	66s 2d.
without any distinction of qualities, or between Muscovado and clayed sugars. The Government proposes to establish a difference in future between these two classes of sugar, and to make the duties as follows:	
Colonial sugar, Muscovado,	14s 0d. per cwt.
Ditto. white clayed, or prepared as to be equal thereto,	61s 4d. "
East India, from places importing foreign sugars, Muscovado,	18s 8d. "
Ditto, white clayed, &c.	21s 9d. "
Foreign free-labor, or imported from countries having treaties with the most favored clause, Muscovado,	23s 4d. "
Ditto, white clayed, &c.	23s 0d. "

From this Sir Robert Peel anticipates a reduction in the price of sugar, in favor or the consumer of 1 1-2d per pound.

In addition to the contemplated reductions in the sugar duties, he proposes to abolish the taxes on no less than four hundred and thirty articles, which have hitherto stood in the tariff, under various rates of duty, producing little to the revenue, but involving great trouble both to the importers and the custom-house officers. The list of these articles is given elsewhere, and includes some other important commodities.

The next change in the duties on imports is a total repeal of the impolitic duty on cotton wool, and a repeal of the entire taxes on exports, including that on coals.

In the duties of Excise, Sir Robert Peel proposes two changes, neither of which was in the slightest degree anticipated by the public. These are the entire repeal of the duties on glass of every description, and of the auction duties.

The following table exhibits the probable effect of these reductions add abolitions of duty on the produce of the revenue:

Estimated loss on sugar,	£1,300,000
Duty on cotton repealed,	680,000
Duty on 430 articles of tariff,	320,000
Export duty on coal,	118,000
Auction duty,	250,000
Glass,	642,000
	£3,310,000

Debate on the Ministerial Project.—On the following Monday, the 17th, the above scheme again came under consideration. Lord John Russell strongly condemned the imposition of a continued income tax at a time of peace and prosperity. He also found fault with the proposal for repealing the auction duties, contending that it would have been far better to reduce the taxes on soap and on fire-insurance. He proceeded to repeat at some length, the usual arguments against the prohibitory duties on slave-grown sugar; but concluded by stating that, as certain parts of the Government plan had his approbation, and as the re-imposition of the income tax for three years was essential to the working of that plan, he should not move any amendment. Mr. Roebuck thought the speech of the noble lord was wound up with a most lame and impotent conclusion. *He* was determined to propose an amendment, to the effect, that the words "professions, trades, and offices," should be omitted from the resolution, it being understood that hereafter a graduated and equitable principle of taxing them should be substituted for that at present in operation. Sir G. Grey expressed his assent to the re-imposition of the income-tax, provided it could be shown that there was a reasonable probability of getting rid of it at the end of three years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer argued that such a probability might be inferred from the recent progressive improvement in the revenue. After several other gentlemen had addressed the House, Sir R. Peel defended himself from the imputation of being regardless of the agricultural interests, pointing out the benefit which the agricultural laborer would derive from the repeal of the duty on cotton wool, and of the auction duty. He proceeded to contend that, in order to make the great experiment now proposed, it was expedient and necessary to re-impose the income tax; declaring his belief that, at the expiration of the three years, it would be found practicable either to repeal that tax, or to make further experiments for the advancement of the country.

Mr. Roebuck's amendment was negatived by 263 to 55 and the House adjourned.

On Monday, the 24th on the motion for going into a committee of Ways and Means on the sugar duties, Mr. Milnor Gibson moved as an amendment, "That no arrangement of the sugar duties will be satisfactory and permanent, which does not involve an equalization of duty on foreign and colonial sugar." He urged that the whole community should not be heavily taxed for the benefit of the West India colonists, and called upon the House to shake off the domination of the monopolist classes. Mr. James declared that to equalize the duties would be to perpetuate the slave-trade, and to inflict misery on millions yet unborn. He indignantly and justly censured the conduct of those who, although they once advocated emancipation, now seemed to regard cheap sugar as of more value than human freedom. Sir G. Clerk argued that the Government proposition would secure to the consumer a supply of sugar at a far cheaper rate than hitherto, without inflicting injury on the colonial proprietors. Mr. Villiers contended that the country was under no obligation to the colonies which should induce it to suffer a large annual loss on their account. Mr. Miles urged that from the distressed condition of the West India estates, an open competition with foreign slave-grown sugar would be ruinous. The amendment was negatived by a majority of 211 to 84.

IRELAND.

At a meeting of the Repeal Association, on Monday, the 17th, Mr. John O'Connell criticised Sir Robert Peel's financial statement, admitting, however, that it would produce vast benefit to the poorer classes in Ireland. Bitter complaint was made that the people of Dublin, and in all quarters, were indifferent about the franchise, and that the conservatives were gaining majorities on the registry. Mr. O'Connell announced the receipt of £52 from Washington, and £250 from Baltimore. The rent of the week, including these sums, was stated to be £751 10s. 7d. At the meeting on Monday, the 24th, Mr. Robert Dillon Browne delivered a hot speech, in reply to the observations of Mr. Roebuck, in reference to the absence of the Irish Repeal members from Parliament, and for his motion for the extension of the Income Tax to that country. He dared to rebuke the Irish members as cowards. He could with much more truth apply the epithet to his friend and employer, the coward Papineau. (Hear, hear.) Roebuck was the paid advocate of the Canadian rebels, the British agent of the concoeters of that rebellion, who acted a base and cowardly part. They incited the people of Canada to insurrection, and at the moment personal danger appeared, they ran away, and left the people to bear the consequences of their folly. Mr. O'Connell, in a speech in condemnation of the land commissioners' report, described it as the most exquisite piece of insipidity that ever proceeded from public men. It was what Cobbett called "cat lap"—(laughter)—stuff unfit for the consideration of great men, and only fit for the imbecility of childhood. While that document was worthless, as far the remedial measures suggested were concerned, it was valuable to this extent, that it exhibited the state of the Irish people as far inferior to anything that could previously be credited in England. This state, he contended, was the consequence of the Union. None but a plunderer and a robber dared to propose such an impost after such a report. The week's rent was announced to be £366.

SPAIN

The Madrid journals are chiefly occupied with a new conspiracy, said to have been discovered at Vittoria, and which the Government have deemed of sufficient importance to send General Concha to suppress. One party represents the *emeute* as favoring Espartero, and the other describes it as a Carlist conspiracy. Several of the conspirators have been arrested. The affair appears, however, to have been grossly exaggerated.

The Spanish ministry is seriously endeavoring to put an end to Slavery. A circular has been sent to all the Spanish consuls, in different countries, urging them to give every possible encouragement to the emigration of laborers to Cuba, in order that the white population may be increased, and the necessity of having slaves there become less and less urgent.

PORTUGAL.

The last accounts from Lisbon tell us that, on the 17th of February, Queen Donna Maria had been confined, and given birth to another princess. The reform of the financial condition of Portugal, continues to occupy the attention of the Government and the Legislature.

SWITZERLAND.

The feeling against committing the education of the youth of Switzerland to the Jesuits, continues to agitate that country, and will probably lead to the eventual expulsion of the disciples of Loyola from the Cantons.

The State Council of Lausanne resigned on the 14th ultimo, and the Assembly of Vaud had instituted a new Council. The complaint was, that 3,200 petitions for the expulsion of the Jesuits had not been attended to.

The Government of Lucerne had called together the entire military force of the Canton. Some of the officers of the Army had thrown up their commissions, rather than take the oath prescribed. All the cantons were greatly disturbed, and a collision was expected.

It appears that the four great powers were determined on insisting upon the maintenance of the Constitution of the 7th of August, 1815. It would appear that the four powers recognize the expediency of removing the Jesuits from the cantons.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Rev. Sydney Smith died at his house in London, on the evening of Eebruary 22. The Morning Chroniele remarks upon the event that the country has lost one of the clearest and the wittiest of its writers, and humanity has lost one of its most powerful, and yet least pretending advocates.

A literary man, (Mr. Laman Blanchard,) of less eminence than the Rev. Sydney Smith, but of undoubted ability, has come to a most melancholy end. His story is tragical. A twelvemonth ago his wife became partially insane, but recovered. About two months ago, while sitting together, she exclaimed that she felt as if she were again going to be attacked, and her reason shortly afterwards gave way. The husband struggled on with a sad heart, writing *lively* essays (for that was his forte) for the different leading periodicals. Then his wife died, and so prostrated was Mr. Blanchard's nervous system by the event, that he became subject to fits, and had to be watched. One evening, just after concluding his devotions, the nurse left him, when he suddenly, in a phrenzy fit, put a period to his existence in the presence of his children. Mr. Blanchard was greatly respected by the leading literary characters in London, most of whom followed him to his grave. It is consolatory, too, to add, that a committee of literary gentlemen, including Bulwer and Macready, have, to their honor, guaranties $300 a year, for three years, to his four children. Doubtless they will be further cared for, until able to take care of themselves.

The Marquis of Westminster, late Earl Grosvenor, died at his residence, February 9, in the 79th year of his age. He was one of the richest, and perhaps the richest, of the British nobility.

The Earl of Effingham died at Brighton, at the age of 78. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton died on the 19th ultimo, at his seat in Norfolk, aged 59. His name is known throughout the world as the great friend of the negro race, and the advocate of their emancipation. He was also the proprietor of the Niger expedition.

A new Arctic expedition is to be undertaken, the command of which will devolve upon Sir John Franklin, with Captain Crozier as second. The Erebus and Terror have been towed up to Woolwich and are fitting with a propeller to force their way through the ice in Baffin's Bay. They will still be able to take two year's provisions. The intended route is through Barrow Straits, between Cape Walker and Banke's Land, and thence to the Continent of America to the westward of Woollaston Land.

The famous Portland vase has been dashed to pieces by one of the visitors to the British Museum, who avowed the deed.

Captain Grover has received intelligence of Dr Wolff to the 10th January, at which date he was at Erzeroom, endeavoring to recruit his strength for the journey over the mountains to Trebizonde.

The Board established by a patent during the Pitt administration, for opening the letters of foreigners, suspected of having treasonable designs against this or foreign governments, has been abolished.

At Dresden, a Lieutenant W— trod on the foot of a young lady who was dancing with Count Dembriski. The lieutenant forgot to apologize, and a meeting was the consequence. The Count, who was only nineteen, was shot through the breast. He exclaimed, "My poor mother!" and fell dead.

Congress.

IN EXECUTIVE SESSION, MARCH 10, Mr. Berrien submitted the following resolutions for consideration:

"Resolved, That in executing the authority conferred by the Joint Resolution of Congress, entitled, "A Joint Resolution for the Annexation of Texas to the United States," the President of the United States will best conform to the provisions of the Constitution by resorting to the treaty-making power, for the purpose of accomplishing the objects of that resolution.

"Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to lay before the President of the United States a copy of these resolutions."

MARCH 11.—Mr. McDuffie moved to lay the above resolution on the table, which passed in the affirmative by the following vote:

YEAS.—Messrs. Allen, Ashley, Atchison, Atherton, Bagby, Benton, Breese, Cass, Dickinson, Dix, Fairfield, Hannegan, Haywood, Huger, Johnson, of Louisiana, Lewis, McDuffie, Niles, Semple, Sevier, Speight, Sturgeon, Woodbury.—23.

NAYS.—Messrs. Archer, Barrow, Berrien, Thomas Clayton, John M. Clayton, Corwin, Crittenden, Dayton, Evans, Greene Huntington, Jarnagin, Johnson, of Maryland, Mangum, Morehead, Phelps, Simmons, Upham, Webster, Woodbridge.—20.

NOTICES.

THE OLD PIONEER SOCIETY IN THE FIELD!

Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the New-York African Society for Mutual Relief. Incorporated March 23d, 1810.

This Society will celebrate its thirty-fifth anniversary, on this evening, March 27th, 1845, at the Zion's Methodist Church, corner of Church and Leonard streets.

The St. Philip's Sacred Music Association have kindly tendered their services on this occasion, under the direction of Mr. J. D. Connor.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

SINGING—By the Choir; PRAYER—By the Chaplain; SINGING; READING OF THE CONSTITUTION—By Jacob Francis; ODE—"Mutual Relief;" ORATION—By Mr. William P. Powell; COLLECTION, to assist the Committee in their expenses; FINALE—Chorus; BENEDICTION.

Doors open at 7 1-2 o'clock. Exercises to commence at 8 o'clock.

JOHN JOHNSON,
WILLIAM H. WEBSTER,
JOHN M. NIXON,
WILLIAM P. POWELL,
ALBRO LYONS,
GEORGE HARRISON,
JOHN ROCK,
} *Committe of Arrangements.*

Tickets 6 1-4 cents, can be had of Dr. J. McCune Smith, 93 West Broadway, and Mr. John Johnson, No. 3 York street, and at the door.

THE BRANDED HAND.

The late frequent aggressions of the South on Northern Liberty, demands loudly from the friends of freedom in the North, a united and powerful expression of their entire sympathy with the Anti-Slavery prisoners; their unqualified approval of their course; and their deep abhorrence of the tyranny which confines them in Southern dungeons. As one means of expressing that sentiment, it is proposed to publish a paper, to be devoted to the cause of these noble Anti-Slavery martyrs.

Its title and motto will be—THE BRANDED HAND! It will be published once a month, at fifty cents a year, payable on delivery of the first number. It will know no particular sect in religion or organization in Slavery.

Poetry.

From the Advocate of Peace.

NOT ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

BY JOHN PIERPONT.

"To fall on the battle-field fighting for my dear country—that would not be hard." THE NEIGHBORS.

O no, no—let *me* lie
Not on a field of battle, when I die!
Let not the iron tread
Of the mad war-horse crush my helmed head:
Nor let the reeking knife,
That I have drawn against a brother's life,
Be in my hand when death
Thunders along, and tramples me beneath
His heavy squadron's heels,
Or gory felloes of his cannon's wheels.

From such a dying bed,
Though o'er it float the stripes of white and red,
And the bald eagle brings
The clustered stars upon his wide-spread wings,
To sparkle in my sight,
O, never let my spirit take her flight!

I know that beauty's eye
Is all the brighter where gay pennants fly,
And brazen helmets dance,
And sunshine flashes on the lifted lance:
I know that bards have sung,
And people shouted till the welkin rung
In honor of the brave
Who on the battle-field have found a grave.

I know that o'er their bones,
Have grateful hands piled monumental stones.
Some of those piles I've seen:
The one at Lexington upon the green
Where the first blood was shed,
That to my country's independence led;
And others, on our shore,
The "Battle Monument" at Baltimore,
And that on Bunker's Hill.
Ay, and abroad, a few more famous still:
Thy "tomb," Themistocles,
That looks out yet upon the Grecian seas,
And which the waters kiss
That issue from the gulf of Salamis.
And thine, too, have I seen,
Thy mound of earth, Patroclus, robed in green,
That, like a natural knoll,
Sheep climb and nibble over, as they stroll,
Watched by some turbaned boy,
Upon the margin of the plain of Troy.

Such honors grace the bed,
I know, whereon the warrior lays his head,
And hears, as life ebbs out,
The conquered flying, and the conqueror's shout.
But, as his eye grows dim,
What is a column or a mound to him?
What, to the parting soul,
The mellow note of bugles? What the roll
Of drums? No: let me die
Where the blue heaven bends o'er me lovingly,
And the soft summer air,
As it goes by me, stirs my thin white hair,
And from my forehead dries
The death-damp as it gathers, and the skies
Seem waiting to receive
My soul to their clear depths! Or let me leave
The world, when round my bed
Wife, children, weeping friends are gathered,
And the calm voice of prayer
And the holy hymning shall my soul prepare
To go and be at rest
With kindred spirits,—spirits who have blessed
The human brotherhood
By labors, cares, and counsels for their good.

And in my dying hour,
When riches, fame, and honor have no power
To bear the spirit up,
Or from my lips to turn aside the cup
That all must drink at last,
O, let me draw refreshment from the past!
Then let my soul run back,
With peace and joy, along my earthly track,
And see that all the seeds
That I have scattered there, in virtuous deeds,
Have sprung up, and have given,
Already, fruits of which to taste in heaven!

And though no grassy mound
Or granite pile say 'tis heroic ground
Where my remains repose,
Still will I hope—vain hope, perhaps! that those
Whom I have striven to bless,
The wanderer reclaimed, the fatherless,
May stand around my grave,
With the poor prisoner, and the poorest slave,
And breathe an humble prayer,
That they may die like him whose bones are moldering there.

From the Social Monitor.

THE ERRING.

BY JULIA A. FLETCHER.

Think gently of the erring!
Ye know not of the power
With which the dark temptation came,
In some unguarded hour.
Ye may not know how earnestly
They struggled, or how well,
Until the hour of weakness came,
And sadly thus they fell.

Think gently of the erring!
Oh do thou not forget,
However darkly stained by sin,
He is thy brother yet.
Heir of the self-same heritage!
Child of the self-same God!
He hath but stumbled in the path,
Thou hast in weakness trod.

Speak gently to the erring!
For is it not enough
That innocence and peace have gone,
Without thy censure rough?
It sure must be a weary lot
That sin-crushed heart to bear,
And they who share a happier fate,
Their chidings well may spare.

Speak kindly to the erring!
And thou mayest lead them back,
With holy words, and tones of love,
From misery's thorny track.
Forget not thou hast often sinned,
And sinful yet may be,—
Deal gently with the erring one
As God has dealt with thee!

THE FATHER.

BY REV. RALPH HOYT.

Now let me call up from the misty Past,
The venerable one 'twas mine to love,
Till manhood's years upon my brow had cast
Their boding shadows; he is now above,—
Nor would I bring him thence,—but oh, to greet
That reverend form once more, how sweet, how sweet.
Father! I need not haunt thy resting-place,
Nor send my thoughts to seek among the blest,
Thy care-worn countenance again to trace:
Here lives thy image in this burning breast!
And here it still shall glow, nor ever fade,
Till low beside thee thy lone child is laid.

Miscellany.

From Hood's Magazine.

THE SCHOOLMASTER'S DREAM.

BY MRS. S. C. HALL.

James O'Leary was a schoolmaster of great learning, and still greater repute: his school was the most crowded of any school within fifty miles of Killgubbin—yet he modestly designated it his "Small College"—and his pupils his "trifle of boys." O'Leary never considered "the Vulgarians," as he termed those who only learned English, writing, and arithmetic—worth counting. No boy, in his estimation, merited naming or notice until he had entered Virgil; he began his school catalogue with the "Vargils;" but was so decidedly proud of the "Homarians," that he often regretted he had no opportunity of "taking the shine out of thim ignorant chaps up at Dublin College" by a display of his "Gracians"—five or six clear-headed, intelligent boys, whose brogues were on their tongues; whose clothes hung about them by a mystery; and yet, poor fellows! were as proud of their Greek and as fond of capping Latin verses, as their master himself.

James O'Leary deserved his reputation to a certain extent, as all do who achieve one. In his boyhood, he had been himself a poor scholar, and traveled the country for his learning; he had graduated at the best hedge school in the kingdom of Kerry, and at one time had an idea of entering Maynooth; but fortunately or unfortunately, as it might be, he lost his vocation by falling in love, and marrying Mary Byrne, to whom, despite a certain quantity of harshness and pedantry, he always made a kind husband, although Mary, docile and intelligent in every other respect, could never achieve her A. B. C.; this he was fond of instancing as a proof of the inferiority of the fair sex. James looked with the greatest contempt at the system adopted by the natural schools declaring, that without Latin no one was worthy of being considered a man at all.

Donneybeg, the parish in which he resided, was a very remote, silent district—an isolated place—belonging chiefly to an apoplectic old gentleman, whose father having granted long leases on remunerating terms, left him a handsome income—sufficient for himself, and not distressing to others. The simple farmers had so long considered Master O'Leary a miracle, and he had confirmed this opinion so frequently, by saying in various languages, what they had not understood, if spoken in the vernacular, that when a national school was proposed in the parish, by some officious person, they offered to send up their schoolmaster, attended by his Latin and Greek scholars—tail fashion—to "bother the boord." This threw James into a state of such excitement, that he could hardly restrain himself; and indeed, his wife does not hesitate to say that he has never been "right" since.

The old landlord was as decidedly an enemy to the national system as James himself; and the matter dropped without O'Leary's having an opportunity of "flooring the boord," which he bitterly regrets. James, for many years after his establishment at Donneybeg, was exceedingly kind to the itinerant class, of whose merits he was so bright an example; for a long time his college was the refuge of every poor scholar, who received gratuitous instruction from "the Master," and the attention and tenderness of a mother from the "Mistress." This generosity on the part of James O'Leary, increased his reputation, and won him a great many blessings from the poor, while pupils thronged to him from different parts of the kingdom—not only the itinerant scholar, but the sons of snug farmers, who boarded in his neighborhood, and paid largely for the classics, and all accomplishments.

This, James found very profitable; in due time he slated his house, placing a round stone, as a "pinnacle" on either gable, the one representing the terrestrial and the other the celestial globe; he paved the little court-yard with the multiplication table in black and white stones; and constructed a summer house, to use his own phrase, on "geometrical principles," whose interior was decorated with maps and triangles, and every species of information. If pupils came there before, they "rained on him" after his "Tusculum" was finished; and he had his name painted on a gothic archway above the gate, which, such was the inveteracy of old habits, always stood open for the want of a latch. But somehow, though James's fortunes improved, there was something about his heart that was not right; he began to consider learning only valuable as means of wealth; he became civil to rich dunces, and continually snubbed a first-rate "Gracian," who was, it is true, only a poor scholar. This feeling, like all others, at first merely tolerated, gained ground by degrees, until Master O'Leary began to put the question frequently to himself—"why should he do good and bother himself so much about those who did no good to him?" He had never ventured to say this out aloud to any one, but he had at last whispered it so often to himself, that one evening, seeing Mary busily occupied turning round some preparation in a little iron pot, reserved for delicate stir-about gruel—or a "sup of broth," which he knew on that occasion was intended for the "Gracian," who had been unwell for some days—after knocking the ashes out of his pipe, and closing and clasping his well-thumbed Homer, he said, "Mary can't ye sit still at the wheel, now that the day's a most done, and nature becomes soporific? which signifies an inclination to repose."

"In a minute, dear; it's for poor Aby—he's sick intirely, and has no one to look to him—the place where he lodges has no convayniance for a drop of whey, and if it had, they v'e nothing to turn it with, and nothing to make it of—so I'll sit down at once."

"Then why don't you sit down at once?" (A corruption of "at once" means at this moment—it is the present tense—now—instantly.) "Why do you sit—wasting your time—to say nothing of the sweet milk—and the"—he was going to say, "the sour," but was ashamed, and so added, "other things—for one who does no good to us?"

"No good to us!" repeated Mary, as she poured off the whey, keeping the curd carefully back with a horn spoon. "No good to us, dear—why it's for Aby-the—What is it you call him—Aby Gradus?—No; Aby, the Gracian—your top-boy—as used to be, he that his old grandmother—(God help us! he had no other kith or kin)—walked ten miles, just to see him stand at the head of his class; that she might die with an easy heart—it's for him, it is——"

"Well," replied the master, "I know that, I know it's for him—and I'll tell you what Mary, we are growing—not to say old, but advancing to the region of middle life—past its meridian, indeed—and we can't afford to be throwing away our substance on the like o' Aby—"

"James!" exclaimed Mary.

"Ay, indeed, Mary, we must come to a period—a full stop, I mean—and"—he drew a long breath, then added—"and *take no more poor scholars.*"

"Oh, James! don't say the like o' that," said the gentle-hearted woman, "don't—a poor scholar never came into the house that I did n't feel as if he brought fresh air from heaven with him—I never miss the bit I give them—my heart warms to the soft homely sound of their bare feet on the floor, and the door a'most opens of itself to let them in."

"Still we must take care of ourselves, woman, dear," replied James, with a dogged look. Why the look should be called "dogged," I do not know, for dogs are anything but obstinate, or given to it; but he put on a sort of look so-called; and Mary, not moved from her purpose, covered the mouth of the jug with a huge red apple potato, and, beckoning a neighbor's child, who was stooping over the multiplication table in the little court, desired her to run for her life, with the jug while it was hot, to the house where Aby stopped that week, and be sure to tell him he was to take it after he had said his prayers, and while it was screeching hot. She then drew her wheel opposite her husband, and began spinning.

"I thought, James," she said, "that Abel was a strong pet of yours, though you've cooled to him of late—I'm sure he got you a deal of credit."

"All I'll ever get by him."

"Oh, don't say that! sure, the blessing is a fine thing—and all the larning you give out James, honey, does n't lighten what you have in your head—which is a great wonder. If I only take meal out of the closet, handful, it wastes away, but your brain houlds out better than the meal; take ever so much away and there's the same still."

"Mary, you're a fool, agra!" answered her husband—but he smiled. The schoolmaster was a man, and all men like flattery, even from their wives.

"And that's one reason, dear, why you can't be a looser by giving your learning to them that wants it," she continued—"it does do them good, and it does you no harm."

The schoolmaster made no answer, and Mary continued. She was a true woman, getting her husband into a good humor before she intimated her object.

"I've always thought a red head lucky, dear."

"The ancients valued the color highly," he answered.

"Think of that, now!—and a boy I saw to-day had just such another lucky mole as yourself under his left eye."

"What boy?" inquired the master.

"A poor fatherless and motherless craythur, with his Vorters and little books slung in a strap at his back, and a purty tidy suit of clothes under his arm for Sunday. It put me in mind of the way you told me you set off your scharling yerself, darlin'! all as one as that poor little boy, *barrin' the second suit of clothes!*"

"What did he want?" inquired O'Leary, resuming his bad temper, for Mary made a mistake in her second hit. She judged of his character by her own. Prosperity had rendered her more thoughtful and anxious to dispense the blessings she enjoyed, but it had hardened her husband.

"Just six months of your teaching to make a man of him, that's all."

"Has he the money to pay for it?"

"I'm sure I never asked him. The trifle collected for a poor scholar is little enough to give him a bit to eat, without paying anything to a rich man like yourself, James O'Leary; only just the ease and contentment it brings to one's sleep by night, and one's work by day, to be after doing a kind turn to a fellow Christian."

"Mary," replied the schoolmaster, in a slow and decided tone, "*that's all botheration.*"

Mary gave a start—she could hardly believe she heard correctly; but there sat James O'Leary, looking as hard as if he had been turned from a man of flesh into a man of stone. Under the impression that he was bewitched, Mary crossed herself; but still he sat there, looking, as she afterwards declared, "like nothing."

"Father of mercy!" she exclaimed, "spake again, man alive! and tell us, is it yerself that's in it?"

James laughed; not joyously or humorously, but a little, dry, half-starved laugh, lean and hungry; a niggardly laugh, but before he had time to reply, the door opened slowly and timidly, and a shock of rusty red hair, surmounting a pale and acute face, entered, considerably in advance of the body to which it belonged.

"That's the boy I told you of," said Mary. "Come in, *ma bouchal;* the master himself 's in now, and will talk to you, dear."

The boy advanced; his slight, delicate form, bowed both by study and privation, and his keen, penetrating eyes looking out from beneath their projecting brows which overshadowed them.

Mary told him to sit down; but he continued standing, his fingers twitching convulsively amid the leaves of a Latin book, in which he hoped to be examined.

"What's your name?—and stand up!" said the master, gruffly.

The boy said his name was Edward Moore.

"What do you know?"

He said "he knew English and Voster, a trifle of Algebra and Latin, and the Greek letters; he hoped to be a priest in time, and should be," he added, confidently, "if his honor would give him the run of the school, an odd season now and agin, and let him pick up such as he could."

"And what," inquired O'Leary, "will you give me in return!"

"I have but little, Sir," replied the boy, "for my mother has six of us, paying to one, whose face we never see, a heavy rent for the shed we starve under. My father's in heaven—my eldest sister's a cripple—and but for the kindness of the neighbor's, and the goodness of one or two families on Christmas and Witsuntide, and, above all, the blessing of God—which never laves us—we might turn out upon the road, and beg."

"But all that is nothing to me," said O'Leary, coldly.

"I know that, Sir," answered the boy; yet he looked as if he did *not* know it; "though your name is up in the country for kindness, as well as learning; but I was coming to it—I have a trifle of about eighteen shillings—besides five which the priest warned me to keep, when I went for his blessing, as he said I might want it in case of sickness, and I was thinking, if yer honor would take ten out of the eighteen, for a quarter, or so, I know I can't pay your honor as I ought, only just for the love of God, and if ye'd please to examine me in the Latin, his reverence said, I'd be no disgrace to you."

"Just let me see what ye've got," said the schoolmaster. The boy drew from inside his waistcoat, the remnant of a cotton night-cap, and held it towards the schoolmaster's extended hand; but Mary stood between her husband and his temptation.

"Put it up child, she said; "the masther doesn't want it, he only had a mind to see if it was safe,—then aside to her husband—"Let fall yer hand, James, its the devil that's under your elbow, keeping it out, nibbling as the fishes do at the hook; is it the thin shillings of a widow's son yer'd be afther taking? It's not yourself that's in it, at all;"—then to the boy—"Put it up, dear, and come in the morning." But the silver had shown in the master's eyes, through the worn-out knitting, the "*thin* shillings," as Mary called them, and their chink aroused his avarice the more. So, standing up, he put aside his wife, as men often do good counsel, with a strong arm, and declared that he would have all, or none, and that without pay he would receive no pupil. The boy, thirsting for learning, almost without hesitation, agreed to give him all he possessed, only saying, that "the Lord above would rise him up some friend who would give him a bit, a sup, and a lock of straw to sleep on." Thus the bargain was struck, the penniless child turned from the door, knowing that, at least, for that night, he would receive shelter from one kind-hearted cotter, and perhaps give in exchange tuition to those who could not afford to go to the "great master," while the dispenser of knowledge, chinking the "thin shillings," strode towards a well-heaped hoard to add thereto the mite of a fatherless boy. Mary crouched over a cheerful fire, rocking herself backwards and forwards, in real sorrow, and determined to consult the priest as to the change that had come over her husband, turning him out of himself, into something "not right."

"This was O'Leary's first public attempt to mark out his determination, and he was thoroughly ashamed of himself; he did not care to encounter Mary's reproachful looks, so he bent over his blotted desk, and sat with his back to her, apparently intent on his books; but despite all he could do, his mind went wandering back to the time he was a poor scholar himself, and no matter whether he looked over problems or turned the leaves of Homer, there was the pale, gentle face of the poor scholar, whom he had "fleeced" to the uttermost.

"Mary," he said, anxious to be reconciled to himself, "there never was one of them poor scholars that had not twice as much as they pretended."

"Was that the way with yourself, avick?" she answered. James pushed back the desk, flung the ruler at the cat—bounced the door after him—and went to bed. He did not fall very soon asleep—nor when he did, did he sleep very soundly—but tossed and tumbled about in a most undignified manner,—so much so, that his poor wife left off rocking, and taking out her beads, began praying for him as hard and as fast as she could; and she believed her prayers took effect, for he soon became tranquil, and slept soundly; but Mary went on praying; she was accounted what was called the steadiest *hand* at prayers in the country; but on this particular night, she prayed on without stopping, until the gray cock, who always crowed at four, told her what the time was, and she thought she might as well sleep for a couple of hours; for Mary could not only pray when she liked, but sleep when she pleased, which is frequently the case with the innocent hearted. As soon, however, as she hung the beads on the same nail that supported the holy water, cross, and cup, James gave a groan and a start, and called her—"Give me your hand," he said, "that I may know that it's you that's in it." Mary did so, and affectionately bade God bless him.

"Mary, my ould darling," he whispered, "I'm a great sinner, and all my learning isn't worth a brass farthing." Mary was really astonished to hear him say this. "It's quite in airnest I am, dear; and here's the key of my little box, and go and bring out that poor scholar's night-cap, and take care of his money, and as soon as the day breaks intirely, go find out where he's stopping, and tell him that I'll never touch cross nor coin belonging to him, nor any of his class, and give him back his coins of silver and his coins of brass; and Mary, agra, if you've the power, turn every boy in the parish into a poor scholar, that I may have the satisfaction of teaching them, for I've had a dream, Mary, and I'll tell it to you who knows better than myself how to be grateful for such a warning—there, praise the holy saints! is a streak of daylight; now listen, Mary, and don't interrupt me."

"I suppose it's dead I was, first, but any how, I thought I was floating about in a dark space—and every minute I wanted to fly up, but something kept me down—*I could not rise*—and as I grew used to the darkness, you see, I saw a great many things floating about like myself—mighty curious shapes—one of them, with wings like a bat, came close up to me, and after all, what was it but a Homer; and I thought may be it would help me up, but when I made a grab at it, it turned into smoke; then came a great white-faced owl, with red bothered eyes, and out of one of them glared a Noster, and out of the other a Gough, and Globes, and ink-horns changed, Mary, in the sight of my two looking eyes, into vicacious tadpoles, swimming here and there, and making game of me as they passed—oh! I thought the time was a thousand years, and everything about me talking bad Latin and Greek that would bother a saint, and I, without power to answer or to get away. I'm thinking it was the schoolmaster's purgatory I was in."

"May be so," replied Mary, "particularly as they wouldn't let you correct the bad Latin, dear."

"But it changed, Mary; and I found myself, after a thousand or two years, in the midst of a mist—there was a mistiness all around me, and in my head—but it was clear, soft, downy-like vapor, and I had my full liberty in it, so I kept on going up, for ever so many years, and by degrees it cleared away, drawing itself into a *bohreen* at either side, leading to a great high hill of light, and I made straight for the hill; and having got over it, I looked up, and of all the brightness I ever saw, the brightness above me was the brightest; and the more I looked at it, the brighter it grew, and yet there was no dazzle in my eyes, and something whispered me that it was heaven; and with that I fell down on my knees, and asked how I was to get there, for, mind ye, Mary, there was a gulf between me and the hill, or to speak more to your understanding, a gap; the hill of light above me was in no ways joined to the hill on which I stood. So I cried how was I to get there. Well, before you could say twice ten, there stood before me seven poor scholars—those seven, dear, that I taught, and that have taken the vestments since. I knew them all, and I knew them well. Many a hard day's work I had gone through with them, just for that holy, blessed pay, the love of God; there they stood, and Abel at their head."

"Oh yah, mulla! think of that, now, my poor Aby; did n't I know the good, pure drop was in him!" interrupted Mary.

"The only way for you to get to that happy place, masther, dear," he said, "is for you to make a ladder of us."

"Is it a ladder of the—"

"Whist, will ye," interrupted the master. "We are the stairs, said they, that will lead you to that happy mansion; all your learning, of which you were so proud, all your examinations, all your disquisitions and knowledge, your Algebra and mathematics, your Greek, ay, or even your Hebrew, if you had that same, all are not worth a *traneen*. All the mighty fine doings, the greatness of man, or of man's learning, are not the value of a single blessing here; seven of us poor boys, through your means, learned their duty; seven of us, and upon us you can walk up to the shining light, and be happy forever."

"I was not a bit bothered at the idea of making a *step-ladder* of the seven holy creatures, who, though they had been poor scholars, were far before myself where we were now; but as they bent, I stept, first on Abel, then on Paddy Blake, then on Billy Murphy; but any how, when I got to the end of the seven, I found there were five or six more wanting; I tried to make a spring, and only for Abel I'd have gone, I don't know where; he held me fast! Oh, the Lord be merciful! is this the way with me afther all, said I. Boys—darlings! can you get me no more than half way, afther all?"

"Sure there must be more of us to help you," makes answer Paddy Blake. "Sure ye lived many years in the world after we left you," says Abel "and, unless you hardened your heart, it is n't possible, but you must have had a dale more of us to help you. Sure you were never content, having tasted the ever-increasing sweetness of seven good deeds, to stop short and lave your task unfinished? Oh, then if you did, masther," said the poor fellow, "if you did, it's myself that's sorry for you." Well, Mary, agra! I thought my heart would burst open, when I remembered what came over me last night,—and much more, arithmetical calculations, when I had full and plenty; of what the little you gave and I taught, came to, and every niggard thought was like a sticking up dagger in my heart, and I looked at a glory I could never reach, because of my cramped heart, and just then I awoke; I am sure I must have had the prayers of some holy creature about me to cause such a warning."

Mary made no reply, but sunk on her knees by the bedside, weeping—tears of joy they were: she felt that her prayers had been heard, and answered. "And now, Mary, let us be up and stirring, for life is but short for the doing of our duties. We'll have the poor scholars to breakfast, and darling, you'll look out for more of them. And, oh! but my heart's as light as the down of a thistle, and all through my blessed dream.

From the Boston Courier.

DESTITUTION IN ENGLAND.

The parish police, and coroner's reports, published in the British papers, continue to furnish extreme and painful cases of destitution and suffering among the poorer classes. At Maidstone Petty Sessions, a poor girl, fifteen years of age, was complained of for pulling four turnips from the field of a Mr. Baxter. It was at six o'clock in the morning. She had been gathering hops, was very hungry and thirsty, and when spoken to threw the turnips on the ground and went away, but was afterwards apprehended. The magistrate appealed to Mr. Baxter to withdraw the case, but the latter refused to do so, and the girl was sentenced to pay four pence, the value of the turnips, three shillings and sixpence costs, and six pence penalty. The girl had no money, but soon after a boy came into the court, crying bitterly, who stated that he had just pawned the shoes from off his feet to pay for his sister. The money was paid, and the girl discharged.

A poor plasterer, named Russell, fell from a scaffolding while at work, fractured four of his ribs, and received other injuries. He was taken to the workhouse of his parish, turned over to the care of the nurses of the establishment, and died during the night, without having any attention bestowed upon him. At the coroner's inquest it was shown that the surgeon of the place had ordered the sick man certain medicine to be administered through the night, but the nurse having been kept up the night before, had gone to sleep and forgotten him, and he had died without assistance or attention. The jury "*admonished*" the nurses, and returned a verdict of accidental death.

A pale, consumptive-looking girl, named Esther Pierce, was charged at a London police office, with illegally pledging a silk shawl which had been entrusted to her to embroider. She appeared in great distress, acknowledged the act, and said she had been driven to it to save herself from starvation, having neither food nor drink, nor money to buy them with. For her day's work in embroidering a shawl, she received but five pence, and for this one, which was larger than usual, and on which was to be worked over eighty flowers, she was to receive but six pence. Her statement was corroborated, and the shawl was produced, which was worked very tastefully, and the magistrate expressed himself with much indignation, that any person with the least title to respectability should make a fellow-creature work upon such starvation wages. The pawnboker's assistant, who attended as a witness, stated that his master was willing to give up the shawl without payment, on account of the extremity of the poor girl's case, and the magistrate thereupon dismissed the complaint. The poor fainting girl was removed from the bar, but had to take refuge in her parish workhouse. Some assistance was subsequently rendered to her, to procure for her a decent outfit of clothes, that she might obtain a servant's situation.

A poor milkman, named Davis, appeared at the Clerkinwell police office, to complain of an overcharge of costs. His furniture, which had cost him twenty-five pounds a short time before, had been distrained and seized for rent. Five days afterwards he had offered the apprized value, which was only five pounds and the costs, but the landlord refused to release the articles, a sham sale was made, and the goods sacrificed at the apprisal and bought in for the landlord by his broker, who had made the illegal charge of costs. No one was present at the sale but the landlord and his two apprizers. The magistrate said that this was a fair specimen of the system of brokerage in Clerkinwell. The goods of a poor family were frequently swept away, and sold in an underhand manner for one-fourth of their value, while the full amount of brokerage was charged. He fined the broker one pound seven shillings, and costs, and the overcharge was refunded to the poor tenant.

At the Banbury Petty Sessions, John Coggins, laborer, was charged by a looker-out of the Earl of Jersey with having a gun in his hand, in a stubble field, in search of game. He had no dog, did not fire, and his gun was taken from him. The Rev. Mr. Matthews, the magistrate before whom the complaint was made, a "*sporting clergyman*," with an affectation of regret at his *painful* duty, sentenced the poor fellow to a fine of ten pounds. Coggins said his property would not fetch the money, when the reverend and humane magistrate decided that he must be committed for three months hard labor. The prisoner was of good character, and had never previously been before a magistrate.

At the same session, John Dorzel, laborer, was charged with having left his wife and family chargeable to the parish. He had been absent in another county for work, after having sought in vain for employment at home, procuring only eight day's work in five weeks. While absent he had saved up one pound, which he had paid for house rent since he returned, and had offered to repay the parish a little at a time, but as he had not sent home anything to support his family while absent, he was committed to prison for one month's labor.

At Uxbridge, a poor woman, an inmate of a Union work-house, complained of the treatment of her two sons, twins, of the age of twelve years, who had been flogged by the schoolmaster of the workhouse in a most cruel manner. They had been beaten with a birch rod until the blood flowed from them. The magistrate entertained the case rather facetiously, and referred to his own birchen experience, not in a very delicate manner, but as the woman insisted upon redress or inquiry, a further hearing was appointed, when the schoolmaster was summoned to appear.

A poor sick woman, named Phillis Peddor, a widow, with several children, residing at Ampthill, having died from want and neglect, the relieving officer under the Poor Law, refusing to afford her relief, the case made much noise, and inquiries were accordingly instituted as to the facts. It was stated that she had been weakly for years, one of her children was subject to fits, and another was "rickety." The nett earnings of the whole family was not above 1s. a week at the outside. The mother used to receive a widow's pay from the parish, 2s. 6d. a week, but latterly that had been taken off. She received occasional charity from families in the neighborhood; but about nine days before her death, she said she thought she had tired out all her friends and neighbors, and would not apply to them any more for relief. The conclusion of the inquiry was, that "outdoor relief was taken from a sick widow because she refused to go to an infirmary; that repeated representations were made to the relieving officer, of her condition; that he invariably refused to attend to them, and that the woman at last perished from want of nourishing diet, which she could not get, and which the parish or its officer refused to her."

A public meeting was held at Highworth on the 16th ultimo, the Earl of Radnor in the chair, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the distress of the working classes, and to discuss the benefits likely to arise if the trade in corn and other provisions were free," when a statement was read, that had been made of his condition by a poor man of the neighborhood. We copy from the London Times:

I, a laboring man, in the town of Highworth, do humbly pray that something may be done to lighten the difficulties and distress under which I labor through the badness of the times. I have a wife and four children to maintain out of 8s. a week. My children are so small that my wife and the children are not able to go out to work, as the oldest is under nine; so all depend on my 8s. a week, which I find is not enough to maintain us in a proper manner, as I have to pay 1s. 9d. for house rent, 9d. for firing, and 6s. for six gallons of bread at 1s. a gallon, which alone amounts to 8s. 6d. and leaves me in debt therefore 6d. I have nothing left to buy tea, sugar, candles, meat, and other things too numerous to mention. As it is, I have to work in the harvest from daylight to dusk like a slave, to pay what I get behind at the shop, and I can't do it then, instead of my having something left to spend with the tailor and the draper, to clothe my wife and children. Something must be done. What will be the end of it, I know not. I can't stop longer to see my wife and children nearly half-naked and half-starved.

This was the condition not only of one, but of many poor people. Resolutions were offered in opposition to the corn laws and in favor of free trade, but the general voice of the laborers at the meeting was that they did not want free trade, but employment. Give them a chance to work, and they could live. The land was monopolized by the large farmers. Let it be farmed out in small lots, so that the laborer could work for himself, and he could maintain his family. There was much discussion at the meeting, and the general distress of the agricultural population was admitted on all sides. Some resolutions were passed, but no direct measures of relief were proposed by any of the gentlemen present.

From the London Punch.

SENSIBILITY OF THE PHARISEES.

The Ipswich Express publishes a statement that puts the sensibilities of the dwellers of Ipswich in the rosiest light. If we are to believe the Express, then are Ipswich folks of the porcelain of all human clay, having the very tenderest affections towards—themselves. At the present time, it appears, there are three convicts in Ipswich jail under sentence of death. Well, the town of Ipswich bestirs itself, and despatches "an earnest petition to the Secretary of State"—for what? Is the town doubtful of the efficacy of capital punishments, and, therefore, does it sue for a commutation of the sentence? By no means; the town leaves the culprits to the halter, and in the depth of its tenderness only thinks of itself! The petition, "signed by the authorities of the town," is to this benevolent effect; it prays—

"That the prisoner [Mary Sheming] might be respited until the execution of the two Howels and Shipley, in the hope that the town might be spared the infliction of two public exections."

And the town of Ipswich feels its heart somewhat the lighter, "for an advance has been made" towards its wishes, Mary Sheming being respited until the 11th inst. But—

"The execution of the other criminals being ordered to take place on the 25th of January, it is not improbable that, *in deference to the earnest petition of the authorities*, the female prisoner may receive a further respite."

That is, the law, cat-like, but in deference to the authorities, may sport with the agony of MARY SHEMING until the 25th! The reputation of SIR JAMES GRAHAM, as Home Secretary, certainly owes something to the condemned cell; and as he has linked his name with that of MARY FURLEY, he may not in this latter instance refuse historic companionship with MARY SHEMING.

But why, allow us to ask, should there not be *two* executions, if executions are permitted at all? Their advocates contend that they are beneficial as public examples.* If so, why should there not be two examples instead of one? Why not, to the shuddering population of Ipswich, read two terrible moral lessons? Wherefore lose one awful opportunity of illustrating the solemn usefulness of the punishment of death? Or if, indeed, the feelings of the town are so acute—if Ipswich shrinks at the thought of so appalling, so ghastly an exhibition—wherefore hang at all?

The advocates of hanging, as a social example, should rather husband their resources, that their influence might be more frequent. To beg a respite, only that there may be a double execution, is certainly to lessen the number of wholesome examples. We are aware that GEORGE THE THIRD—a very great authority on hanging—was not of this opinion. Under his reign there was always what *Peachem* calls "a decent execution." It is a fact, not to be too frequently quoted against the champions of the gallows, that on the 23d of June, 1784—*sub rege pio*—the New Drop was first used, when fifteen convicts were together executed. More than this; from the following February to the 1st of December, there were *ninety-six*—more than an average of two a week—hanged in front of Newgate; and for what? Why, the great majority for offences which in the present time would be punished with various terms of transportation, the evil-doers being first taught a trade in a Model Prison.

Let it be known that fifteen human creatures were to be hanged in the Old Bailey on Monday,—and the metropolis, nay, the whole country, would rise in indignation against the wickedness; a wickedness which, however, our forefathers thought necessary to social security, as *their* forefathers, in their daily business walks, saw in the heads of traitors festering on Temple Bar, the ghastly yet fitting evidences of the right divine of kings.

To return, however, to Ipswich and the selfishness of its sympathies. In its tenderness for itself, and its apathy towards the suffering convict, we are reminded of the sensibility of a certain lady of fashion. She had a pet spaniel that, in a momentary freak, bit a piece out of the footman's leg. Whereupon, the lady, thinking of the dog, as if indeed it were a part of herself, exclaimed—"Poor little dear! I hope it won't make it ill." Now, never mind the sufferings of Mary Sheming, but don't let Ipswich be made ill—let Ipswich be "spared an infliction."

* In the Times' report of the recent execution of William Kendrew, at York, we read, in the following sentence, a frightful comment on the social effect of hanging:—"*A young man was detected almost at the foot of the scaffold, in the act of picking pockets.*"

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